





## NEWS

in brief

### 21 hurt on roads

Twenty-one people, nine of them children, were injured on the nation's highways yesterday.

Five IDF soldiers were injured yesterday evening in two separate road accidents in southern Lebanon. In both accidents, armored vehicles overturned. Four soldiers were lightly injured and the fifth suffered moderate injuries.

A 10-year-old boy was critically injured when he was struck by a car on the Coastal Highway, north of the Netanya-North interchange. Eight other children were injured, two of them seriously and the rest lightly to moderately, in a collision between a car and a minibus near Kfar Truman.

Seven people were injured, two of them seriously, when a car swerved out of its lane and struck an oncoming car on the Ashkelon-Ashdod road.

### 5 Israelis to testify in Jordan murder trial

Three teachers and a pupil from the Amit-Fuerst School in Beit Shemesh, and pathologist Dr. Yehuda Hiss, leave for Jordan today to testify for the prosecution in the trial of Pvl. Ahmed Daqamsa for the murder of seven Beit Shemesh schoolgirls at Naharayim in March.

Asst.-Cmdr. Anton Lyov of the Judea and Samaria police, who is accompanying the witnesses as liaison with the Jordanians, said yesterday they would refute the defense claim that Daqamsa was provoked into shooting the girls while saying his prayers. "It's clear the soldier was not praying, because it was not prayer time," Lyov said.

### Hussein names former PM Speaker of Senate

King Hussein yesterday named former prime minister and close confidant Zeid Rifai, 61, as Speaker of the Senate. He succeeds, Ahmed Lawzi, 72, who resigned Saturday because of health problems. Rifai served as prime minister several times starting in the early 1970s. He resigned in April 1989 because of widespread riots over price increases. The Senate is appointed by the king. It is similar to Britain's House of Lords.

### Shahor retires from IDF

Maj.-Gen. Oren Shahor was mustered out of the IDF yesterday, ending 32 years of service, marked by his suspension in November from his last position as coordinator of government activities in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip for holding secret meetings with then opposition leader Shimon Peres. A former OC Intelligence Corps, Shahor was appointed by Yitzhak Rabin to be top negotiator for civilian affairs with the Palestinians. His suspension following media revelations of his meetings with Peres and Labor MK Yossi Beilin was seen at the time as a sign of mistrust between the Likud-led government and some top IDF brass.



Oren Shahor

### Technion junior faculty to strike today

Junior faculty members at the Technion will strike today, in sympathy with their colleagues across the country. At the Hebrew University's Mt. Scopus campus, students will join the junior faculty in a protest demonstration. Junior faculty members at Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Hebrew universities have been striking for four weeks over their work conditions.

### Police thwart Osem extortion attempt

Police yesterday arrested a man suspected of attempting to extort \$750,000 from the Osem food company. The affair began on Friday, when a fax arrived at the company demanding the sum. The fax, signed by someone who called himself Uri, threatened to infect Osem products with germs and publicize this in the media. Yesterday, when a man contacted the company from a public phone in Herzliya and repeated the threats in a conversation with its deputy director-general, police tracked him down and arrested him.

### Beef thieves and police clash in Beduin village

Disturbances broke out yesterday in Tuba, near Rosh Pina, after police raided the Beduin village and confiscated large amounts of stolen beef. Rosh Pina police said the meat had been stolen from Golan Heights settlements. Police chief Supt. Yoram Malul said several residents were arrested for selling the meat and attacking policemen. He said no one was hurt.

### Worker killed in fall into milling machine

A 20-year-old worker was killed yesterday when he fell into a pipe milling machine in the Plassim factory of Kibbutz Merhavia. An investigation is under way to determine how the accident occurred.

# Hussein urges Jordanians to deepen peace with Israel

News agencies

King Hussein urged Jordanians yesterday to drop their hostility toward Israel and follow his footsteps in building peace.

"What are you afraid of?" Hussein asked rhetorically. "Why fear instead of being confident of your Arab roots, loyalty, and genuineness?"

It was a reference to concerns in Jordan that Israel's advanced economy will overwhelm that of resource-barren Jordan.

In a speech to tribal chieftains in Irbid, the king said the economic fruits of the 1994 peace treaty will not materialize as long as Jordanians hesitate in dealing with Israel.

Opposition to peace has come mainly from Moslem fundamentalists, who call for the destruction of Israel, and leftists, who demand the unconditional return of all Arab lands seized by Israel in the 1967 Six Day War.

Both groups are using powerful unions to encourage Jordanians to resist normalizing ties with Israel. Roughly two-thirds of Jordan's 3.8 million people are of Palestinian origin.

In his 40-minute speech, Hussein also warned Syria that hard-line groups based on its soil might undermine efforts toward peace. Syria is home to 10 Palestinian groups that are vocal critics of the Middle East peace process and have vowed to wreck it.

Hussein blamed Moslem fundamentalists in Jordan for damaging ties with Syria in 1979, when Damascus accused



Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and King Hussein meet reporters yesterday in Amman, where Arafat went to brief the king on the Israeli-Palestinian talks in Cairo.

Amman of backing the Syrian Moslem Brotherhood in a revolt against the ruling Arab Baath Socialist Party.

"I hope that our brothers in

Syria did not forget what has happened," Hussein said.

Meanwhile, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat held talks in Amman with Hussein yesterday.

as Israeli and Palestinian negotiators met for the first time in more than two months in Cairo.

Officials said Arafat, who flew from Gaza on board a Jordanian

military helicopter, consulted the king on the latest Egyptian moves to revive Israeli-Palestinian talks. The two leaders also reviewed bilateral ties.

## ANALYSIS

# Arafat blinked first

By MARK A. HELLER

For three months, since ground was broken for the Har Homa project, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu have been playing a game of chicken: Each was betting that the dangers of a frozen peace process would force the other to give way.

Yesterday, Arafat blinked.

His decision to send his representatives to Cairo cannot have been easy, since it reverses the basic Palestinian policy of postponing serious engagement in the hope that regional and international pressure would force Israel to comply with the Palestinian interpretation of the Interim Agreement.

If this happened, Israel would have to give up territorial assets and concede a more favorable opening position for the Palestinian side when talks eventually did begin. If not, Israel would lose further political/diplomatic assets, even as the PA continued to entrench itself in east Jerusalem and before any new Palestinian undertakings were required in permanent status negotiations.

But the strategy of stalling was

not without its risks. Some Palestinians argued that it played right into Netanyahu's hands, since there seemed no prospect of serious pressure, especially from the US, and any outbreak of violence might backfire.

Arafat's inability to deliver anything on the peace process front also invited greater domestic attention to other reasons for public disenchantment — waste, arbitrary exercise of power, and corruption.

And the combination of stalemate and shortcomings in Palestinian governance jeopardized international assistance to the PA, from the donor countries in general, and from the US in particular, where the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act comes up for renewal this summer in the face of growing congressional indifference or outright hostility.

As a result, Arafat was forced to drop his requirement that Israel suspend settlement construction before contacts could be renewed. Indeed, so great was the need to move things off dead center that Palestinian officials were even forced to admit publicly that an announcement by Arafat's spokesmen to the effect that the Palestinian condition had been

met was simply wrong.

Even so, it was necessary to provide Arafat with a face-saving mechanism that could enable him to climb down from the limb. The US could no longer do this, because Palestinian officials had denounced American mediators as hopelessly biased. But Egypt was eager to intercede, partly out of genuine concern for the fate of the peace process, partly to demonstrate that it continues to play an important and constructive role in regional affairs.

And even Netanyahu helped, by allowing the so-called "Allon-Plus" plan to leak, thereby signalling to Palestinians and Israelis that, however repugnant the details of this plan may be to Palestinians, he is not a prisoner of ideology and is as prepared as the Labor Party to talk business.

In short, Arafat blinked to get the talks started. But that does not mean he will surrender to get them finished. And if negotiations simply lead to a stalemate of a different kind, everyone will lose.

The writer is senior research associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

## Azeri diplomat predicts increased ties with Israel

By STEVE HODAN

Azerbaijan is interested in strengthening relations with Israel and might open an embassy within the next year, a former Azeri diplomat said yesterday.

Nesib Nesibzadeh, a professor at Asian University in Baku and Azeri ambassador to Iran from 1992-94, said his government is trying to establish an independent foreign policy, free of Russian influence.

This, he said, would include closer relations to Azerbaijan's neighbor, Turkey, as well as Israel. Nesibzadeh said he foresees an Azeri embassy being established here despite what he termed an insufficiently flexible policy by Baku.

Currently, Israel has an embassy in Baku, while Azerbaijan is represented here by a non-resident ambassador.

Speaking at Tel Aviv University, he said: "I see current government

policy in foreign affairs as being on the right track," he said. "They have changed their policies from one of being pro-Russian. It's real possible that such a thing could happen next year."

Nesibzadeh, who is meeting with Foreign Ministry officials during his visit, said intensifying relations with Israel could prompt an angry Iranian reaction.

He said Baku finds it too difficult to establish normal relations with neighboring Iran and Armenia, which are cooperating in the dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh. Instead, it is seeking to intensify its alliance with Turkey and forge ties with Israel.

"We have to increase and accelerate our attempt to have closer relations with Israel," he said. "It's necessary. Of course, Iran will react very nervously. Even without relations, Iran is very nervous of an independent Azerbaijan."

## KIDRAH

Continued from Page 1

Sarraj said he feels the Palestinian human rights situation, of which he has been very critical, is now improving in the Palestinian-controlled territories, and that people are beginning to appreciate the work of human rights activists.

"People who are victims should be encouraged to speak out. Only after the dismissal of the attorney-general did people complain about him, because he is no longer in power. People are so scared when they believe they have no protection," Sarraj said.

The dismissal comes a month after Kidrah, a Fatah lawyer who is said to have followed

Arafat's instructions down the line, ordered a lawyer arrested for sedition after he wrote an article about the Bar-On Affair that compared the PA legal system unfavorably to the Israeli system.

The lawyer, Jamil Salameh, speculated on what would have happened if the ill-fated political appointment of an attorney-general had happened in Gaza.

## CAIRO

Continued from Page 1

The unusual optimism stemmed from a comment, attributed European Community peace envoy Miguel Moratinos, that Netanyahu had agreed to freeze construction work at Har Homa.

Arafat flew to Amman to confer with King Hussein about the potential breakthrough.

As if to prove that the concessions attributed to Netanyahu were politically impossible due to the makeup of his coalition, Abaron Domb, secretary-general of the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, charged that the council had reason to believe the government circulated reports about a compromise "which he described as having no basis in reality."

Domb said there was no stoppage of any kind "in the work under way in the settlements of Judea and Samaria."

Liat Collins adds: "The prime minister could save the expense of sending the

delegation to Cairo if it does not take with it a willingness to freeze settlement activity and suspend the construction on Har Homa," Meretz leader Yossi Sarid said. "Freezing the settlements is not a Palestinian demand that should be answered; it is common sense which demands it. It is impossible to carry out negotiations with goodwill while simultaneously continuing to create facts on the ground."

The Likud faction is scheduled to meet with Netanyahu this evening to discuss diplomatic developments. Likud faction chairman Michael Eitan said the premier had informed him that the process of forming Israel's stand on the negotiations is not yet finished and he is interested in hearing the opinion of the Likud MKs.

Eitan said there are "legitimate differences of opinion within the party on the extent of concessions, but the whole coalition is united in its belief that were the negotiations being carried out today by a left-wing government, the scope of the comprehensive concessions it would make would endanger national

security."

National Religious Party faction head Hanan Porat demanded that the delegation first of all raise the subject of the land dealers killed for selling land to Jews.

Margot Dudkevitch adds: Throughout the day, settlement leaders reacted harshly to reports claiming Netanyahu had raised the possibility of freezing construction in the settlements. "It appears there are certain elements within the present government who are willing to go along with freezing settlements," Domb said.

Council spokeswoman Yehudit Tayar refused to speculate on how the settlers would react if the rumors prove to be correct.

"We are confident that Netanyahu will continue in the right direction," Tayar said. Council chairman Pinhas Wallerstein, however, noted that if Netanyahu considers a freeze in the settlements, he will have no government.

"This government will not survive a freeze on construction in the settlements," he said.



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מזמור תהלים



## Bakshi-Doron slams Temple Mount prayer

By HAIM SHAPIRO

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron yesterday criticized rabbis who call for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount and said that such a move could cause many Jews to sin unknowingly.

Speaking at the inauguration of the new seat of the Chief Rabbinate in Beit Yahav, near the entrance to Jerusalem, Bakshi-Doron recalled that following the Six Day War, the Chief Rabbinate ruled that because of its holiness, it was forbidden for Jews to ascend the Temple Mount.

"We have to remember that each person cannot make a law for himself," Bakshi-Doron said.

The rabbis who are calling for Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount reportedly have the backing of former Ashkenazi chief rabbi Avraham Shapira. They also appealed to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is said to be sympathetic to their request.

Bakshi-Doron, however, noted that even rabbis who have ruled that Jews could ascend the Temple Mount have specified that one could only enter the edges of the site after having properly purified and immersed themselves. By establishing a place of prayer on the mount, he argued, many Jews who had not purified themselves could unwittingly transgress.

In addition, he said, by building a modest synagogue at the edge of the mount, Jews would be giving the impression that this most sacred of all places is not important to them.

Better to wait for the proper time, Bakshi-Doron said, referring to the coming of the Messiah.

Bakshi-Doron also attacked efforts by the Conservative and Reform movements to obtain recognition in Israel. He said a survey abroad had shown that of every 1,000 Jews affiliated with such movements, only three or four remain Jews by the third or fourth generation.

# Yahalom: No compromise on conversion bill

By LIAT COLLINS

MKS involved in seeking a solution to the conversion bill dilemma continued to give out mixed messages yesterday.

Law Committee chairman Shaul Yahalom (National Religious Party) has rejected all compromises suggested so far. Yesterday he said that he sees no solution before the June 30 deadline set by the High Court of Justice for passage of legislation, other than freezing both the High Court petitions relating to conversions and the legislation.

Coalition and Likud faction chairman Michael Eitan, on the

other hand, said he would raise another possible compromise, but refused to divulge details. Leaders of the Conservative and Reform movements in the US are expected to arrive here this week to take part in the discussions.

The Law Committee is not scheduled to meet this week because of Shavuot, but Yahalom said that next week the committee would continue preparing the bill for its second and third readings.

Yahalom completely rejected the suggestion raised by Eitan last week — a combination of several proposals — aimed at separating the nationality clause in

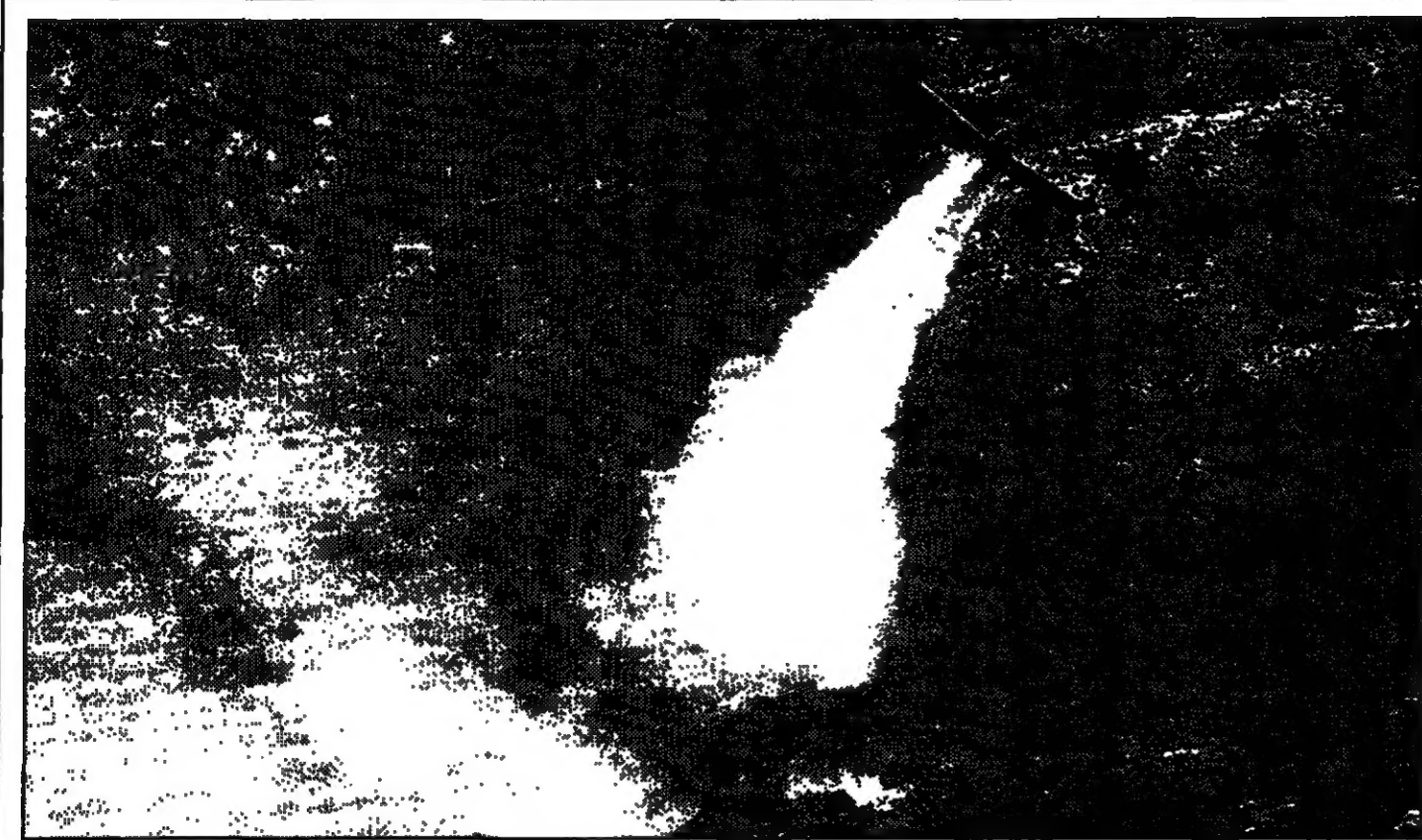
identity cards from the lists in the Population Registry. Jews' ID cards would be marked with either the word "Jewish," the Hebrew letter yod or a Star of David; if the person had converted, the type of conversion would be listed in the Population Registry. Alternately, this clause could be deleted from the ID card altogether.

In addition, under the proposal, the words "or has converted" would be deleted from the Law of Return and converts from all streams of Judaism would get rights under the Citizenship Law, not the Law of Return. This would give the Interior Minister

greater leeway in rejecting a request for citizenship and would help avoid the problem of foreign workers undergoing quick conversions to gain immigrant rights.

Yahalom said he opposes all suggestions that would erase the word "Jewish" from identity cards or replace it with some other symbol. "It will play into the hands of those who say the State of Israel is not a Jewish state," he said.

He also based his rejections of the Citizenship Law proposal on the fact that halacha forbids reminding converts that they were not born Jewish.



Fire fighting

A crop-duster sprays water over the fire that broke out yesterday afternoon in the Jerusalem Forest, between Ramat Raziel and Ness Harim. Residents of these and other nearby communities were put on alert for a time, lest there be need to evacuate them, but that proved unnecessary. Because of the difficult terrain, it took over three hours to control the blaze, which destroyed some 60 dunams (15 acres) of woodland. Another brush fire over several dunams near Ramat Beit Shemesh was also extinguished.

(Text: Ilim; photo: Brian Hendler)

## NEWS

in brief

### Wife murderer, 72, gets nine years

Wolf Gingis, 72, of Rishon LeZion, was sentenced yesterday to nine years' imprisonment for beating his wife, Nefia Fishniak, to death with a hammer last year.

The couple had divorced in their native Russia and Gingis made aliya in 1991.

Fishniak followed in 1993 and the couple remarried, although neighbors said they fought constantly and that Fishniak walked out on her husband several times, even though he had become confined to a wheelchair.

On the afternoon of last July 20, Fishniak wheeled herself over to his wife's living room chair and began beating her on the head with a hammer.

She fled to the bathroom, but he followed her and continued beating her until she died. Ilim

### No budget for anti-AIDS drugs

The supreme steering committee on AIDS complained yesterday about the lack of a budget for obtaining the latest drugs, which retard the progress of the fatal disease.

Committee head Dr. Zvi Ben-Yishai said that the Treasury continues to refuse to include anti-AIDS drugs in the health basket.

There are some 100 people in the country suffering from AIDS and some 1,500 who have tested HIV positive. Ilim

### Sara Netanyahu supports psychologists' strike

Sara Netanyahu, the wife of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, met yesterday with striking psychologists, and said that she has told her husband he should find a solution to their wage problem.

Netanyahu said their current salary level "is ludicrous," after Rachel Eisenbach, a senior psychologist with 23 years of public service experience, showed her a monthly pay slip of NIS 2,820. Ilim

### Hundreds leave for Rabbi Nahman's grave

Hundreds of hassidim, carrying large quantities of milk products to prepare Shavuot dishes, left last night for Uman in Ukraine, to spend the holiday near the grave of Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav.

In his will, Rabbi Nahman exhorted his followers to visit his grave three times a year, on Shabbat Hanukka, Rosh Hashana, and Shavuot.

Travelers this time included both Bratslav followers and other hassidic rebbes and their adherents. Ilim

### Radio to help clean-up campaign

The Environment Ministry and Israel Radio yesterday announced a joint effort to help the national clean-up campaign being conducted under the slogan: "People who litter are trash."

In a meeting between ministry Director-General Nehama Ronen, radio director Amnon Nadav, and Mickey Miho, who heads the radio's traffic report department, it was agreed that Israel Radio will forward reports of garbage along the roads on the same hot line on which drivers report traffic tie-ups.

The hot line can be reached at the toll-free 177-022-3151 or \*955 on Cellcom mobile phones. Liat Collins

### Livnat makes a trip to Vietnam, Philippines

Communications Minister Limor Livnat leaves for an official visit to Vietnam and the Philippines today.

Accompanied by leaders of a number of high-tech companies, Livnat will meet with her counterpart in Vietnam and various political leaders. In the Philippines, she will confer with a number of ministers and telecommunications officials.

She will also sign a cooperation agreement in telecommunications and postal services between the two countries.

On her way to Vietnam, she is due to visit the Asia Telecom exhibition in Singapore where a number of Israeli companies will be represented. Judy Siegel

## ANALYSIS

# WJRO threat to NATO expansion irritates US

By MARILYN HENRY

NEW YORK — The World Jewish Restitution Organization collided with American foreign policy last week when it threatened to fight the admission of Poland, Romania and the Czech Republic to NATO unless these states return Jewish property.

The WJRO threat appears to have irritated and embarrassed its strongest ally, but it is not expected to prevent NATO's expansion.

For more than two years, Stuart Eizenstat, the Clinton administration's point man on restitution, has been urging Central and Eastern European states to restore to the Jewish community the property that was confiscated by the Nazis, then nationalized by subsequent communist regimes.

But NATO is the Americans' primary post-Cold War foreign-policy objective, and it was only last month that Washington won Russia's acceptance for the expansion of the military alliance.

"Do you think the White House went through all this with [President Boris] Yeltsin to give it up?" asked one observer.

"We will use all the means accessible to prevent the Czech Republic, Poland and Romania [from] joining NATO until these countries return all the property to their local Jewish communities," Naftali Lavie of the WJRO was quoted as saying last Thursday in the Polish daily newspaper *Rzeczpospolita*.

"It is difficult to imagine that countries that do not respect private property, the rights of ethnic and religious minorities could be integrated into European structures and western civilization," he told the Polish paper.

The WJRO, frustrated at the snail's pace of property restitution, raised the NATO threat last week at a meeting in Jerusalem. Poland's legislation on property restitution is seen as inadequate because it is limited to the return of select communal Jewish properties. The Czech and Romanian restitution efforts also have not produced extensive results.

After two years of negotiations, a foundation in Hungary is prepared to start providing pensions to some 20,000 Holocaust survivors. The Hungarian foundation is the only significant restitution success in Central and Eastern Europe since the WJRO was created five years ago. Meanwhile, the WJRO has been at the fore-

front in the crusade to recover the Nazi gold from Switzerland.

The US treats carefully when it comes to restitution in Central and Eastern Europe. Washington has gently nudged the emerging democracies toward enacting restitution policies and has commended all progress, but has been circumspect in expressing any disappointment or displeasure.

"We do not seek to dictate solutions or negotiating partners," Eizenstat, then the undersecretary of commerce, told the Helsinki Commission last July, in a review of US policy on restitution.

"Rather, we urge that governments address the question of promoting restitution and compensation of communal and private properties in ways that meet the expectations of local commu-

nities and are credible to international organizations which act in partnership with local groups."

In Prague, the executive director of the Jewish federation, Tomas Kraus, declined to comment directly on Lavie's statement. Instead, he told the Czech news agency CTK: "Nothing remains [other] than to express regret that no law was passed in 1991 which would solve these problems once and for ever, and thus prevent statements similar to that which was made by Mr. Lavie."

In Warsaw, Polish Foreign Minister Danusz Rosati expressed surprise last week at the WJRO threat, Reuters reported. He noted that Poland had a new law paving the way for a return of property to Jewish communities and that the government had a plan to improve

conservation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp.

The foreign ministers from the 16 NATO members are scheduled to meet in Madrid next month to decide which Central European democracies should be invited to

begin talks on membership of the military alliance. In the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act of 1996, Congress named Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and the Czech Republic as the leading candidates for NATO admission.

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# Ex-apartheid rulers threaten to sue Tutu commission

JOHANNESBURG (AP) — A war of words between the white-led National Party and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission has escalated, with the party threatening legal action over alleged bias by the panel.

In a letter sent to commission chairman Desmond Tutu, lawyers for the National Party demanded an apology from Tutu and the resignation of vice chairman Alex Boraine over comments

they made about NP leader F.W. de Klerk last month.

"In the event of you declining to apologize and to give an undertaking per our request, our client will be constrained to institute appropriate legal proceedings against you," the letter said. "In the event of Dr. Boraine declining to resign, appropriate legal proceedings will be instituted against him." National Party spokesman Jan

Bosman would not say yesterday what legal action the party would take if its demands were not met. Bosman said the party "might continue legal action."

The dispute pits two Nobel Peace Prize winners against each other — Tutu, the retired Anglican archbishop honored in 1984 for his anti-apartheid activities; and de Klerk, who shared the 1993 prize with Nelson Mandela for negotiating a peaceful end to

apartheid.

Mandela set up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in December 1995 to uncover political crimes committed in the apartheid era and grant amnesty to people making full confessions.

After de Klerk told the commission last month that as president he was unaware of the widespread torture and brutality by government security

forces, Tutu and Boraine responded by questioning de Klerk's honesty. Tutu said he had personally presented Klerk with evidence of torture when he was president.

In the letter to Tutu, the National Party lawyers said Tutu and Boraine violated the Promotion of Unity and Reconciliation Act, under which the Truth Commission was created, by displaying bias and harming the credibil-

ity of the panel.

It said Boraine had repeatedly displayed prejudice against the National Party, and that his comments at the news conference "confirmed beyond doubt that he is not a fit and proper person to serve as a commissioner." The Truth Commission planned to meet June 19 to discuss the situation and offered no comment on the National Party demands.

## Congo descends into violence

### French troops battle rival militias

News agencies

PARIS — France is sending more troops to Congo's capital, Brazzaville, today, following the death of a French soldier in a gunfight, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday.

Congolese soldiers fired on one another in the streets of Brazzaville yesterday and the US evacuated many of its citizens from the city over the weekend.

"The problem is that there are [former president Denis Sassou] Nguesso's militias and there are Congolese army units which are not under the control of their officers, and so we have seen Congolese troops firing on their fellow soldiers," Cmdr. Alexis Jarraud, the French army chief in the city, said.

"There is shooting in the streets, and they are using rocket-launchers in residential neighborhoods," Jarraud said, adding there had been looting in Brazzaville since Friday.

Brazzaville has been shaken for the past four days by fighting between supporters of Nguesso and soldiers loyal to President Pascal Lissouba and other political and ethnic rivals.

Dozens of Americans fled a night of fighting between government soldiers and militias Saturday, escaping the city aboard private planes to nearby Kinshasa.

Forty-four Americans, most of them missionaries, arrived in Kinshasa, capital of the neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo, which was formerly called Zaire, Saturday evening, and described a night of street clashes.

"When we took off there were shots being fired at the plane," said Kevin McCabe, director of Pennsylvania-based Christian Missionary Alliance. He said US officials had hoped to assist more people to leave Saturday but were blocked by unsafe streets and a dusk-to-dawn curfew.

One French soldier was killed Saturday night during a clash with "uncontrolled elements." One Congolese officer was also killed.

Violence erupted in the riverside capital when government troops, fearing attempts to disrupt next month's presidential elections, attempted to disarm members of a 5,000-strong militia loyal to Nguesso.

President Lissouba ended

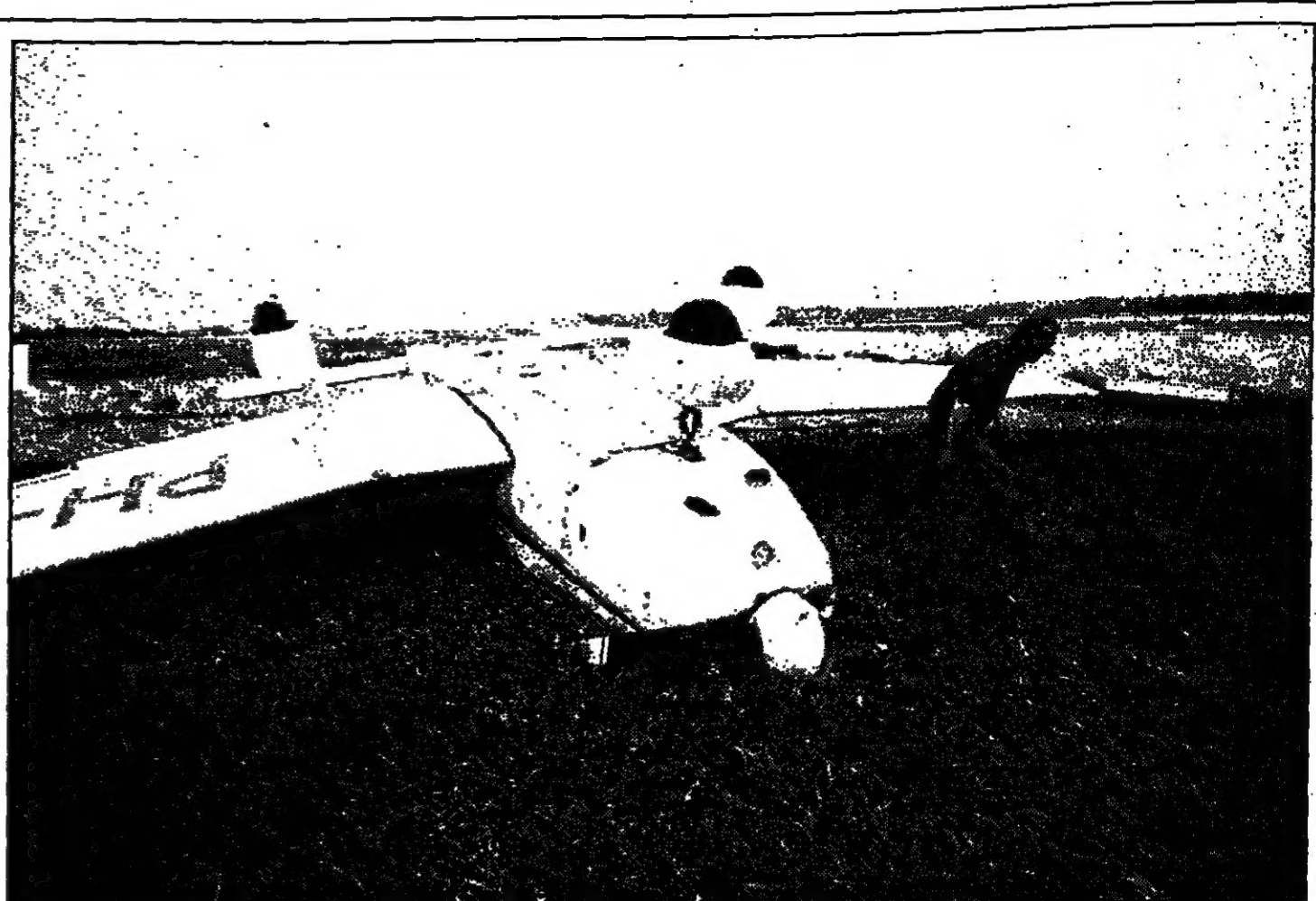
Nguesso's 13-year dictatorship in 1992.

McCabe said the situation had been relatively calm Friday but deteriorated overnight. Another missionary, Stan Hotalen, said heavy artillery and mortar fire could be heard during the night and that the houses of some foreigners were looted.

As many as 150 US citizens live in Brazzaville, which was the staging area for preparations in April and May to evacuate Americans and other foreigners from what was then Zaire, had it become necessary.

Hundreds of American, French, Belgian, British and Portuguese soldiers were deployed in Brazzaville and were prepared to pluck foreign nationals from Kinshasa if fighting broke out. But Laurent Kabila's rebel army took the city with relative ease last month, driving out Mobutu Sese Seko's government.

Foreign troops began leaving Brazzaville shortly afterward. About 2,500 French live in Brazzaville, but the French government said it had no plans to evacuate them. They have been advised since Friday, however, to remain indoors.



Freak storms ravage Holland

A man walks away from a plane overturned by freak winds at Rotterdam's airport this weekend. Two people were killed and around 40 injured after the powerful storm battered the Netherlands, capsizing boats, uprooting trees and disrupting train services. A woman drowned in the huge inland IJsselmeer lake, just north of Amsterdam, where more than 100 boating accidents were reported. Many of those in trouble were windsurfers, enjoying what had been a hot summer's day. In Velsen, on the coast east of Amsterdam, a 72-year old man died overnight from injuries caused by a falling tree.

(Photo: AP; text: Reuters)

## Ahern: I'll be next Irish prime minister

DUBLIN (Reuters) — The center-right Fianna Fail party scored a narrow victory yesterday in a cliffhanger Irish election which seemed likely to end Prime Minister John Bruton's center-left government.

"I do think I will certainly be [prime minister]. But it will very, very tight," Fianna Fail leader Ahern said, as counting continued for the last few seats.

Bruton stopped short of admitting defeat, but acknowledged that Fianna Fail and its Progressive Democrats ally would likely form the next government when parliament returns on June 26. "It's looking like Fianna Fail and the Progressive Democrats getting a majority when the [parliament] resumes," he said.

With 156 of parliament's 166 seats accounted for, Fianna Fail had captured 76. Its right-

wing Progressive Democrats ally took a mauling and had only three seats, compared to eight in the current parliament.

Bruton's Fine Gael held 50 seats and his allies in the Rainbow coalition, the Labor party and Democratic Left, had captured 15 and three respectively.

Ahern seemed certain to need to enlist the support of Independent and Green party candidates to form the next government. Small parties, many of them rural-based with local agendas, had captured six seats, the Greens two and Sinn Fein, political wing of Irish Republican Army terrorists, one.

Both Ahern and Bruton have ruled out any electoral pact with Sinn Fein until the IRA restores a cease-fire it broke in 1996 when they resumed their war against British rule of

Northern Ireland with a bomb in London which killed two.

Sinn Fein, which shares the IRA's goal of a united Ireland, plans to take its first seat in a modern Irish parliament to press its case for automatic entry into Northern Ireland peace talks from which it is banned because of IRA violence.

Bruton's coalition was torpedoed by the poor showing of Dick Spring's Labor party, which has held a balance of power in several governments over the past 15 years.

Voters spurned Labor, probably to punish it for pulling out of a Fianna Fail coalition in 1992 to join Bruton. "We seem to be the fall guys," a rueful Spring commented as results came in showing his party's support has ebbed from around 20% in 1992 to 10.5%.

## US train wreck kills 1

SCARY, West Virginia (AP) — One person died when a freight train rear-ended a coal train, while hundreds fled their homes and scores more were blocked from escape by burning wreckage.

Six crew members were on the two trains that collided Saturday night 16 kilometers outside Charleston. One died and two others on the freight train were hospitalized in fair condition, while the three-person crew on the coal train was unhurt, Tim Hensley, spokesman for CSX Transportation, said early yesterday.

Several cars carrying automobile parts burned brightly early yesterday, hours after the crash late Saturday night. Authorities feared the flames would spread to other cars carrying bleach, sulfuric acid and chemicals.

Hundreds of people within three kilometers of the crash site fled their homes at the urging of authorities. About 150 people in a hollow could not get out because the only road was blocked by flaming wreckage. The residents were told to stay inside their homes with their windows closed.

"I heard an awful explosion and saw the power lines go up into a big, blue ball of flame," said Steve Bowman, who lives about 15 meters from the crash site. "I saw fire shoot [30 to 45 meters] in the air."

Both trains were operated by CSX Transportation and were headed to Virginia, CSX said. The cause of the crash was not known.

## Two arrests in slaying of Time Warner boss's son

NEW YORK (AP) — Acting on a telephone tip, police this weekend arrested a 19-year-old man in the torture slaying of his former schoolteacher, Jonathan Levin, the son of Time Warner's top executive.

Corey Arthur was arrested in a housing project in Brooklyn, Police Commissioner Howard Safir said at a news conference. Arthur, a convicted drug peddler, was charged with first-degree murder and robbery. An alleged accomplice, Montoun Hart, 25, was also arrested and charged with second-degree murder and robbery.

Hart has a record of seven arrests, two for robbery in New York City. The motive for the killing was robbery, Safir said.

Investigators believe Levin was tortured and forced to reveal the password to his bank card, then killed after his assailants used the card to withdraw \$800 from a nearby bank machine.

Safir declined to discuss details of the case. But a police source identified Arthur as the shooter and the person who made the withdrawal.

Arthur — who friends said was an aspiring rap artist — used some of the money to buy clothes and jewelry, the source said.

Hart was "along for the ride," the source said.



Montoun Hart leaves a police station in Brooklyn Saturday, after being charged in the slaying of schoolteacher Jonathan Levin, son of Time Warner's top executive.

Arthur was arrested three times on drug charges in 1994, once while carrying more than 200 vials of crack cocaine. In August 1994, he pleaded guilty to the felony of criminal sale of a controlled substance and was sentenced to one to three years in prison. He was paroled in April 1995 after completing a "shock" boot camp program for first-time, nonviolent offenders, the sources said.

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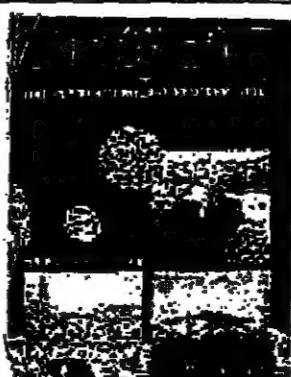
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David Bar-Illan

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הכזמן העמל



# The bard's a card

By HELEN KAYE

The RSC is coming. No, not that one. This is not the august Royal, but the Reduced Shakespeare Company. They could have called themselves ridiculous, or rambunctious, or raucous, or rapturous, or revisionist as well, and, oh boy, do they ever ridiculously reduce and revise the collected works of William Shakespeare.

They first came with *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare - Abridged* to the Israel Festival in 1993, where audiences lapped them up, hooting with laughter as Adam Long, Austin Tichenor and Reed Martin mangled the bard.

Now the show is returning for seven performances starting June 24 at the Cameri Theater with Chris Mellon, Matthew Rippy and Ross MacKenzie doing the honors. Now, as then, the first 36 plays get short shrift before the intermission, with *Hamlet* occupying the second half.

"I'll tell them they have to learn 'to be or not to be' in Hebrew and that Israeli audiences know how to have a good time," says Long over the phone from his London home. One of RSC's founding members, he is appearing alternately in *Shakespeare - Abridged* and *The Complete History of the United States - Abridged* in London's West End. The original threesome started as a street theater, doing condensed versions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* at Renaissance Fairs near San Francisco.

The Edinburgh Festival followed, and the rest is silence, or history. The RSC has been so successful that clones were inevitable. There are now three of them, including the trio coming here, whom Long directed.

"They are very creative guys," he says, "and they have a lot of fun



Alas poor Yorick, I knew him well: Shakespeare gets a makeover.

(Geraint Lewis)

with the show. When we decided to expand, we decided that we'd look for a bunch of crazy guys who have a genuine appreciation of Shakespeare's work, and who could do it seriously."

"My agent told me I had an audition for the RSC," says Mellon, "and when I got there, it wasn't the one I had in mind. They took me anyway."

He's an Englishman who's spent 15 years studying and then working in the US, followed by another couple of years in musical theater in Germany. Rippy, who does all the women in the show, is a Texan who married an English girl and lives in London. MacKenzie, a Canadian, was in the West End cast of *Sunset Boulevard* before joining the

RSC, and *Romeo* is one of his roles. Mellon is *Hamlet*.

"I like the show," he says, "because it changes every night according to the mood of the audience. We don't do the same thing twice, which is interesting for me as an actor."

Improvisation is part of the heart of *Shakespeare Abridged*, agrees Long, saying "you can

never tell what an audience is going to do. We want to involve the audience, like they did in Shakespeare's own time. The more the merrier."

So step up for gourmet cooking from *Titus Andronicus*, a little rap from *Othello* and all of the comedies in one.

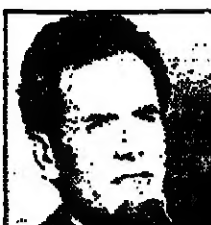
The RSC will also perform in Kfar Sava, Haifa and Jerusalem.

## NEWS

of the muse

### IPO returns to the park

After last summer's grand operatic evening under the baton of Daniel Oren, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra returns to Hayarkon Park. Everyone who's anyone on the Israeli light popular music scene will join the IPO on June 17 in a special concert celebrating 100 years since the first Zionist Congress. Nurit Galron, David Broza, Shoshana Damari, David Dvor, Shlomo Gronich and many others will join the orchestra under the baton of Rafi Kadishon in a concert emceed by Haim Topol. A hundred thousand enthusiastic music lovers are expected at the event. Admission is free.



David Broza (Israel Hadati)

Michael Aizenstadt

### Rage against censorship

Very heavy-metal band Rage Against the Machine is coming here for two concerts at Second City in Haifa June 27 and the Tel Aviv Cinerama June 29. Its first album, *Rage*, stayed on the *Billboard* top 200 for 89 weeks, going platinum (1 million copies) in 1994. The band doesn't take to being censored - the musicians once stood naked on stage for 25 minutes to protest a parents' group that wanted its music banned.

Helen Kaye

### Celebrating Beduin culture

The first-ever Beduin Festival takes place at Tuba in Galilee on Wednesday. The event includes art exhibits by prominent Beduin artists and sculptors, food, handicrafts, embroidery, the skills of the world-renowned Beduin trackers and the performing arts. The performers include prize-winning singer/composer Uthman Muhammad, darbuka (Beduin drum) virtuoso Hamidi Nimer Murjan, the Zarzur brothers who play traditional flutes, and 11-year-old prodigy Nazyia Ali Ayub, who plays the darbuka and dances up a storm.

Helen Kaye

### Early music workshop

The Jerusalem Early Music Workshop celebrates its 15th anniversary this fall (October 17-23). Musicians interested in participating in this always exciting and rewarding workshop have only one month to enroll (call 02-623-4347) before the list is closed. The workshop is an intensified learning/playing experience which focuses on authentic music-making and features some of the best musicians/teachers in the field from all over the world. New faculty members this fall include bass singers Peter Harvey and Christian Immeler, oboist Frank de Brui, violinist Johannes Leetrouwer and violist Suzanne van Els.

Michael Aizenstadt

### 'Woman' in the pink

The Jerusalem English Speaking Theater production of *The Woman in Black*, directed by Kelly Hartog, got four awards at the Dundalk International Drama Festival in Ireland last week. The thriller got the Adjudicators' Award for Best Sound, runner-up in the Best Set and Supporting Actor categories, and Arthur Ingram also got a Certificate of Merit for his supporting role as Arthur Kippis. This is the fifth consecutive year that an Israeli group has come home a winner from Ireland.

Helen Kaye

## A bad fortnight for rockers

The body of 30-year-old American folk-rock singer Jeff Buckley was found Wednesday night floating in the Mississippi River, where he had gone for a swim, the Associated Press reports.

Buckley, the son of singer Tim Buckley (who died of a drug overdose at the age of 28 in 1975) was in Memphis to record a new album. His music sounded like a cross between Van Morrison and Leonard Cohen.

The previous week, fellow folk-rockers Bob Dylan, 56, called off a European tour after suffering a potentially fatal infection. But he seems to be recovering. Last week the legendary singer-songwriter said (through a Columbia Records spokesman): "I'm just

glad to be feeling better. I really thought I'd be seeing Elvis [Presley] soon."

A third folksy-rocker, the Canadian Neil Young, 51, also had to postpone a European tour slated to begin this week. Reports say he cut his finger slicing a ham sandwich.

Singer Mariah Carey is making a cancellation of a different sort: she and her husband, Sony Music Entertainment President Tommy Motola, are separating after four years of marriage. In a joint statement they said they "mutually and amicably" agreed to a trial separation. But they said they would remain friends and continue their professional relationship. Carey records on the Sony label.

Jerusalem Post Staff

## MOVIE REVIEW

# Charade of a modern French 'hero'

By ADINA HOFFMAN

*A Self-Made Hero* begins as a small, funny film about a provincial French boy with a lively imagination and evolves gradually into a sharply pointed allegory about memory, fantasy, and the dubious legacy of the Vichy government. Not that the movie grows somber and preachy as its historical implications open out - hardly.

Writer and director Jacques Audiard manages an unusual blend of caustic humor and serious political commentary with this film, whose elegantly understated approach to its thorny subject matter is somehow better evoked by the original title, *Un Héros Très Discret* ("a very discreet hero") than in the English-language, do-it-yourself version.

War-time France: a young man named Albert Dehous (Mathieu Kassovitz) lives alone with his widowed mother and loves to read books. Growing up, he heard endless stories of his father the decorated war hero, only to learn from a big-mouthed school friend that in fact his father's nickname was "Cinchois" and that he drank himself to death. Albert, too, decides that a little fiction never hurt anyone, and sets about trying to impress his pretty next-door neighbor (Sandrine Kiberlain) with the novel he claims to be writing. (In fact, he spends his nights copying out in longhand entire chapters from a published book.) It works: the two fall in love and get married. Lying, he

A SELF-MADE HERO  
(Un Héros Très Discret)

★★★★

Directed by Jacques Audiard. Screenplay by Alain Le Henry and Jacques Audiard. Based on the novel by Jean-Francois Deniau. Hebrew title: Giorb bitzchut atzmo. 105 minutes. French dialogue, English and Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.

With Mathieu Kassovitz, Anouk Grinberg, Sandrine Kiberlain and Jean-Louis Trintignant

learns, pays off.

But this little fit isn't enough for Albert. He dreams of bigger, more exalted fabrications. On the night of the Liberation, without warning, he leaves his new wife, boards a train for Paris and begins slowly to concoct a new identity for himself. He was, he claims, a hero of the Resistance. By careful study and some virtuoso acting, Albert manages to penetrate the ranks of the real Resistance fighters, who come to believe that he is indeed a comrade. Albert seems almost to believe himself after a certain point, although things get messy when he's appointed to an important post in the French occupied zone in Germany and we realize (as does he) that the charade can't last forever...



Albert Dehous (Mathieu Kassovitz) decides that a little fiction doesn't hurt.

Throughout most of the film, Audiard's approach to his literal anti-hero is basically sympathetic. There's something likable - at once naive and a little desperate about Albert, despite his pathological lying. He suggests a cross between Woody Allen's muttering Jew, Zelig, and Jean-Paul Belmondo in *Breathless*, rubbing his thumb suavely across his upper lip as if he thought he were Bogart.

As played by Kassovitz (the young director whose own crude but energetic film about police brutality, *Haie*, caused a huge stir in France last year) Albert is someone whom we want to see succeed: each time he lies, we wait with bated breath to see if the details will stick and his story will continue to hold up. At the same time, the fall-out from his lies grows more and more lethal and, with a strain of gentle irony that's rare in today's political cinema, Audiard suggests that Albert is not alone in his lie: modern French history, were it told straight, would expose a good many self-made heroes, or at least men who've conveniently chosen to forget a few things about how they passed the war years.

The film is too bubbly and basically entertaining to constitute an angry *J'accuse* and it has some small problems (the narration by Jean-Louis Trintignant is superfluous; several of the stagey, connecting bits feel precious and a bit silly; Audiard uses a mock-documentary format for parts of the film and then lets it slip). Still, *A Self-Made Hero* is a strong and graceful movie: one whose senses of history and humor are inextricably linked.

## Banging on a can

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

Eleven years ago, a young Israeli cellist left home to further her studies with Aldo Parisot at Yale University. A year later, a very special music festival made its debut in a tiny gallery in New York's Soho.

These days, Maya Beiser and the Bang on a Can Festival are inseparable, as one will realize this coming weekend in performances at the Israel Festival. But the cellist and the festival each developed separately, until they clicked about five years ago.

Beiser began playing the cello as a child on Kibbutz Gazit, between Afula and Tiberias. "When I was twelve I knew that the cello would take me out of the kibbutz and would open doors for me worldwide."

At 18, she joined the IDF string quartet. Then, after completing her bachelor's degree in Tel Aviv, she moved to New York. When Beiser finished her master's at Yale, she admits, "I suddenly realized all this does not interest me. I was not interested in playing music written many years ago. I was not interested in going on stage playing a work which the audience is familiar with and has preconceived notions about. I wanted to be part of the creative process. I wanted to do things never done before."

Today, Beiser boasts over 50

works written especially for her and she is more than proud that renowned composer Steve Reich is currently writing a concerto for her. She is also about to premiere new works by the likes of Julia Wolf, John Zorn, Meredith Monk and

example, but the proportion must be different. Most of what I do and love doing is new work."

In many ways it was obvious that Beiser and Bang on a Can would meet. The festival's initial aim, she explains, "was to find a new way of presenting contemporary music."

The success of the initial festival brought the next and the next.

In order to keep the momentum going throughout the year, and not just during festival time, the Bang on a Can All Stars ensemble, in which Beiser plays the cello, was founded. In the two programs in the Israel Festival, they will play many works, including a solo written by Michael Gordon for Beiser in which she plays the cello with a distortion box "and the instrument turns into a sort of an electric guitar, something like Jimi Hendrix." In another solo, she plays her instrument with an 18-channel pre-recorded tape.

The seductive-looking, 33-year-old cellist is very much aware of the common image of women playing the cello. "I want to destroy the image of the romantic woman playing the cello," and as you watch her glittering eyes you are transfixed by her overflowing sensuality and can only imagine how she erupts on stage.

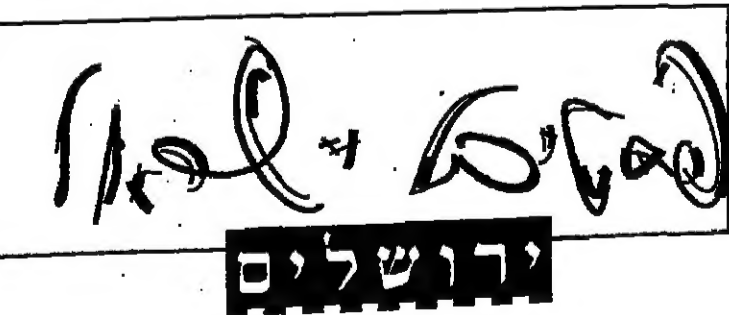


Over 50 works have been written for Maya Beiser.

Anthony Davis, to name just a few. Not that Beiser is willing to part with classical music. "I will never give up the Bach cello suites, for

The Bang on a Can All Stars perform Saturday and Sunday at the Gerard Behar Theater in Jerusalem.

## ISRAEL FESTIVAL REVIEWS



## Yet more poor performances

The Guarneri String Quartet (Henry Crown Symphony Hall, June 4, 7) is a very polished ensemble. In more than one way this American foursome is almost faultless. However, while they play the notes superbly they give nothing more and their playing is devoid of humanity, feeling and soul.

Their Mozart was totally blasé, their Schubert (*Death and the Maiden*) was as boring as one can imagine and only in the Brahms piano quintet, driven by pianist Elisabeth Leonskaja, was there some momentary excitement, although on the whole this was as

disappointing as the rest of the evening. From a quartet which has been playing together for over three decades one expects much more than this.

THE Tafelmusik concert was just as bad. In fact it was so boring that it was embarrassing. This Canadian baroque orchestra played Handel and Avison as if they simply didn't care about the music. The notes may have been played without problems but this is not music making. In short, this was another evening that should have never taken place within the Israel Festival.

Michael Aizenstadt

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## Barak's new agenda

In the great battle for Israel's political center, the new leader of the Labor Party has one distinct advantage over his rival: Ehud Barak is not just playing to the center, he is the center. His kibbutz roots plant him solidly in Labor, his lifetime in the military has cultivated an impatience towards ideology and a penchant for realism and practicality.

In his campaign for party leadership, Barak had to fight the accusation that he was a "Bibi clone." If anything, however, it is Benjamin Netanyahu who is trying to copy Barak.

In a comprehensive newspaper interview last October, Barak laid out how he evaluated the Oslo Accord. "The conclusion I reached, after much thought, is that this agreement, with all its limitations, takes us on a path which will not be easy, but does allow us to work towards an expanded Allon plan," explained Barak. When asked to describe what his "Allon-Plus" plan would look like, he rattled off almost exactly the list that Netanyahu did about seven months later: expand Jerusalem and the corridor leading to it; annex certain settlement blocs, security positions in the Jordan Valley, and on the mountain ridge; an agreement on water; no foreign army west of the Jordan; and no right of return.

In this post-party, post-ideology era of modern politics, both Netanyahu and Barak are taking pages from Bill Clinton's and Tony Blair's playbooks.

Both Clinton and Blair, like Barak (and Rabin), came to the head of liberal parties that became tired of nominating candidates that reflected their ideology but could not win elections. Enter Clinton the "new Democrat" and Blair's "new Labor." Barak did not have to call his vision "new Labor," because Rabin had already blazed that path — Barak simply and fairly claimed Rabin's mantle.

Netanyahu, despite the ideological facade, employs political techniques that have more in common with Clinton than, say, Reagan or Thatcher.

Netanyahu's unveiling of Barak's Allon-Plus plan on the day after Barak's party victory was exactly what Clinton did to the Republicans to win his last election: adopt the other side's most popular ideas as his own.

Just as the last Israeli election gave voters a choice between almost identical slogans, both parties seem now to be headed towards almost identical goals for a final status agreement. In the next election, Barak will not be able to claim that Netanyahu is a wild-eyed right-winger, and Netanyahu will not be able to accuse Barak of giving away the store. The next election will be less a referendum on the nation's direction, than on who the public trusts has the character and competence to lead Israel in the tough negotiations ahead.

As leader of the opposition, Barak has more

opportunity to demonstrate the qualities Israelis are looking for than it may seem. Under Shimon Peres, the Labor Party response to Netanyahu was, at one and the same time, shrill and oddly compliant.

Peres's first covert, then open, pining for a unity government was bitterly opposed by many Laborites, including Barak, who understandably thought it constrained Labor's proper role.

Now Barak has the chance to demonstrate that he can oppose articulately and effectively, without doing so for opposition's sake. When Netanyahu was in the opposition, he, in so many words, accused the government of driving Israel towards suicide. Since then, he has continued many of the policies of the previous government while defining his own accomplishments in terms of the dangers he has prevented.

Barak must lead the opposition differently from both Netanyahu and Peres.

He should neither be hysterical, nor pull punches. He must be critical, but not only critical, or the criticism will have no credibility. He must give people the sense that he is running the party confidently, but more with persuasion than raw power. But most of all, he must show that there is more to him than that he is not Netanyahu.

Yossi Beilin's proposal to appoint a shadow cabinet may be going too far, but the idea of developing clear, constructive alternatives to existing policies is a good one. The job of an opposition is not just to oppose, it is also to convince the public of how things really could be different.

The Republican upset in the US in 1994, in which that party took both Houses of Congress for the first time in over a generation, was largely built on a list of concrete, signed commitments made to the voters. Rather than the usual tactic of being as vague and noncommittal as possible, the Republicans came up with a "contract with America," which they invited the voters to hold them to after the election.

Barak should come up with his own way of showing that Labor is not just running to win, but to implement specific proposals, and not just on the peace process. The vacuum left by Netanyahu's grand and unfulfilled promises regarding economic reform should be filled. Barak must show that he will make economic reforms that are both sensible and bold, and that he will not be stymied by the demagoguery of those whose statist policies hurt the poor they are supposedly defending.

He must show that he has an idea how to heal the social and religious divides in society by taking on powerful forces in the Knesset, while recognizing the legitimate interests of their constituents. In short, Barak's claim to competent leadership should stand on its own, not just in contrast to the record of the Netanyahu government.

## No-peace plan

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

The prime minister's headline-making "Allon-Plus" plan has blocks of territories retained under Israeli control. Included are all or most settlements, all the Jordan Valley, all the water sources, and the network of Israeli-constructed bypass roads around the Arab towns.

In the several remaining "islands" embracing the existing centers of Arab population, the Palestinians would apparently enjoy little more than restricted autonomy.

### Let's face it: 'Allon-Plus' isn't even 'Allon-Minus'

Whatever its merits or demerits, this setup in no way resembles the Allon Plan — "plus" or "minus."

The Allon Plan, developed after the Six Day War, was based on territorial compromise. Its intention was to hand over most densely populated areas in the West Bank and Gaza to King Hussein, and most of the Sinai to Egypt. Israel would retain territories vital to its security, and a few areas of religious or sentimental value.

Yigal Allon never drew a map; in fact, he dissociated himself from one of the American quarterly *Foreign Affairs* appended to an article he wrote for its October 1976 issue.

What Allon basically had in mind was continued Israeli control over the Jordan Valley — except

for a corridor around Jericho — and the first mountain ridge west of it, as well as Gush Etzion, an area around Hebron, and Latrun.

In the Sinai, Allon wanted Israel to keep hold of the Red Sea coast from Eilat down to Sharm-e-Sheikh, the IAF airports in northern Sinai, and the Rafa (Rafiah) salient. The rest was to be returned to Egypt.

The parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip that were to go to Jordan had no Jewish settlers at the time. These areas would form part of a Jordanian-Palestinian state, with a predominantly Palestinian population. The West Bank was to be joined to the East Bank by means of a corridor around Jericho; a highway would link the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Allon considered the Jordanians and Palestinians a single people. He objected to what he called "another Palestinian state" in the West Bank and Gaza. Every people had a right to self-determination, he said, but no people had the right to determine itself twice over.

Allon had another reason for creating a single Jordanian-Palestinian state: Those territories in the West Bank and Gaza returned to Arab sovereignty would have to be demilitarized, and while it was reasonable to demilitarize part of a state, you couldn't demilitarize all of one.

WHAT Netanyahu presented to his inner cabinet last week clearly bears no relation to Allon's concept. It is, however, almost identical to what, back in the mid-'80s, was known as the Sharon Plan. In advocating massive Jewish

## Dry Bones



settlement around existing Arab population centers, Ariel Sharon sought to create facts on the ground that would make it impossible to effect any territorial compromise, then advocated by the Labor Party.

At the same time, rejecting Meir Kahane's (and later Molelet's) idea of "transfer," Sharon thought he could avoid the risk of Greater Israel becoming a binational state by leaving the main Palestinian population centers outside Israel

proper, and by not actually giving the Palestinians full control over any territory.

The Sharon Plan was willing, at most, to grant the Palestinians limited autonomy rights.

In sum, the Allon Plan and this "new" Netanyahu Plan have only two things in common: Both talk about the same areas, and neither can ever become the basis of peace with the Palestinians.

The writer is a political scientist.

## A plea to the Palestinians

I want to appeal, not to the Palestinian leaders, but to the Palestinian people, most of whom I know years no less than we do for an end to the conflict, for an honorable arrangement, for a peaceful life.

I fear that you have become cut off from reality, and that can only lead to an impasse.

The root of the problem? It lies in the giant gap between your expectations and our ability to fulfill them.

I beseech you, instead of banging your heads against a brick wall, try to be just a little realistic. Try to lower your expectations. Once you do that, you will see how much you stand to gain from an arrangement that will suit us all; and how very much more you will lose from this freeze in the talks.

We, too, will lose. But your loss will be far more significant, far more concrete.

Some of your leaders have been using scare tactics, threatening a return to violence if the freeze persists. They predict violence at a level we have not yet seen if we fail to reach the kind of arrangement they want.

To this my answer is: We're not afraid, because you are the ones who will lose the most. Yet there are two sides to that coin — losing and winning. But your leaders stubbornly refuse to understand.

With a little good will and flexibility, you could understand that we Israelis also have conditions, red lines, limits beyond which we will never concede.

Your leaders seem willing to continue the freeze in negotiations for another 20 years — while you experience the hardship and frustration on a daily basis, wanting only to live honorably, to support

your families, and raise your standard of living.

We Israelis live with a per-capita GDP of \$17,000 per year; yours is \$1,200. Surely you owe it to yourselves to break out of this state of affairs.

What you must do is adopt a different way of thinking, a positive one. You need to realize that between "all" and "nothing"

### Don't let your leaders do your accounting for you. Realize how much you stand to gain, and what you are liable to lose

there is a middle road, and that following it you can obtain a very great deal, even by your own standards.

I know Judea and Samaria well. I've been along the length and breadth of it, and, like you, I know there are huge expanses in which you can give expression to most of your ambitions. So why insist precisely on those things we cannot give you?

The nub of the problem centers on your ability to internalize the reality that we will not concede on Jerusalem, that you will not get the right of return, that we will not evacuate settlements.

Come to terms with that, and you'll be surprised at how much we are willing and able to give you.

We, who couldn't visit the Western Wall up till 1967, have allowed you, and will continue to allow you free and full access to all your holy places, as well as complete freedom of religion and ritual.

rity, you can all take a respectable part in our economy.

We are not eager to employ foreign labor. For many years we viewed you as family members, working in our factories, on our farms, in our industry and construction, in our private and public sectors.

A return to this is possible, given the conditions that allow it. We'll all profit, and you most of all.

You just need to accustom yourselves to the idea that you can come out of negotiations with a lot, but never with everything. And you can lose massively.

SO I appeal to you, Palestinians: Take stock, and make up your minds.

Will you continue to flounder in frustration, or will you take courage and tell your leaders it's time to play a different tune? Will you only receive, or are you ready to give as well — and that means giving up your leaders' unrealistic

ambitions? Move forward with us, purposefully, toward an agreement based on preventing terrorism, on dissolving suspicion, on mutual respect and mutual concessions. If you do, I have no doubt that we will be in a position to propose more concessions, leading to more progress.

In short, the rosier the future, the rosier the solutions it will hold. The choice is yours. Enough families on both sides have paid dearly over the years for this continued state of hostility.

In the past few months, fanatics have disrupted our lives with terrorism, preventing us from giving you the chance to make an honest living. You have seen how much you have to lose.

As you search your souls, understand one thing: You will never get what we can never agree to give you. We won't give up Jerusalem. We won't give up our right to settle every area of the Land of Israel. We cannot give you the right of return; we cannot give you a state, and we cannot give you an army.

But we are prepared to give you self-determination, a flag, freedom, economic prosperity, and hope for the future.

Palestinian people, do your own soul-searching. Don't let your leaders do your accounting for you. Realize how much you can gain, and quickly — and realize the opposite.

Come sit down with us, talk to us, work with us.

We can do so much together, if we only want to, if we only believe. If you only believe.

The writer, a Likud MK, is a former deputy head of the General Security Service.

## Saddening state of affairs

ESTHER WACHSMAN

Where were the upholders of the inalienable rights of man on those occasions?

When former education minister Amnon Rubinstein decided to hold a lottery to choose which matriculation subjects would not be tested, he did so without consulting a pupils' committee. But

on Ammunition Hill, I lived in the vicinity for 18 years, and visited the site very often. I saw scores of secular-looking families having cookouts near the monument to the fallen, and never reproached them for their insensitivity.

But equally, I never read an article or saw a picture of them in the

press until this year's glee over a haredi family getting "caught" in the same act — which, by the way, I consider abominable.

We all saw the TV footage of the brutal destruction of houses in Yitzhar. We saw the violence done against Jewish women and children.

Yet those who bemoaned the beating of Arab youths who threw stones at cars and people, endangering lives, remained silent in the face of violence against Jewish children.

I MUST, therefore, sadly reach the conclusion that citizens' rights depend on which citizens, and

which rights. There is no right and wrong, moral and immoral, just and unjust — it's all relative.

And let us not forget the 25 Hebrew University professors, advocates of good conscience, freedom of expression, and human rights, who signed a letter disapproving of the prime minister's presence at a graduation ceremony. By what right did they suggest prohibiting the democratically-elected leader of our country from taking part in this event? He is the prime minister of all Israel's citizens whether they voted for him, or not; and I am certain that many of these professors' students voted for Benjamin Netanyahu.

The university includes people from all walks of life, embracing many different ideologies. The blatant lack of tolerance these professors showed portrays a gross abandonment of democracy, civics, and human rights to political considerations.

I would like to recommend that these professors all be required to take a course in good citizenship, democracy, human rights and tolerance before they continue educating the country's future leaders.

The writer's son, Nachshon, was killed by Hamas terrorists in 1994.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

#### IMMIGRANT DRIVERS

Sir, — Since February 1995, all immigrants arriving in Israel have been required to undertake a practical driving test irrespective of how long they have held a valid driving license from their own country, and irrespective of whether they can prove that they have been driving accident-free for any number of years. We were told that the reason for this was the fact that many Russian immigrants were able to obtain false documents in the Soviet Union, thereby causing a potentially dangerous situation in the never-ending battle against road accidents.

Although the ministry supposedly set down guidelines as to the maximum cost of driving lessons, this has turned into another money-making business, albeit legal, for both driving instructors and examiners.

From my own personal meetings with ministry officials I understand there are no statistics that prove there has been any increase in road accidents involving immigrants, let alone those who learned to drive in Europe, Britain, the US, South Africa, etc.

In my opinion, the current disclosures of arrests of instructors and examiners in the north of Israel absolve from guilt immigrants, both Eastern and Western alike, and I call upon ministry officials to abolish their unfair system of retesting drivers who have had many years' experience of accident-free driving, and suggest they concentrate all their efforts in weeding out the bribery and corruption that is evidently so ripe in this field.

MAURICE SINGER

Tel Aviv.

#### ZEALOTRY

Sir, — I am writing in response to Rabbi Herbert Weinberg's letter of May 25, in which he queries — regarding my *Shabbat Shalom* article of May 2 — "to whom and about whom did he write the following: 'Could the Torah be distinguishing the act from the actor, the crime from its perpetrators? Passion that can lead to fanaticism must be stopped and condemned, but the individuals, whose motives were pure, remain close to the Almighty.'"

It is indubitably clear about whom I wrote those words: Nadab and Abihu, who brought an unbidden sacrifice to the Temple, for which they were punished, although they remained close to the Almighty, as the text indicates. I certainly meant no analogy whatsoever to Baruch Goldstein or Yigal Amir, as Rabbi Weinberg seems to imply I did. You cannot possibly

compare bringing an extra sacrifice as an act of zealotry with the taking of human lives without due process as an act of zealotry. The latter is a desecration of God's name which can only distance the perpetrator from the Divine, as I have often written in the past.

Hopefully the last words of my commentary would serve as a warning to all future generations: "National and religious pride must be nurtured and fostered; however, the dangers inherent in excessive national and religious pride must at the same time be recognized and tempered." If this is true within the context of a "strange offering," how much truer must this be within the context of, God forbid, the taking of human lives.

SHLOMO RISKIN

Efrat.

#### PALESTINIAN SECURITY FORCES

Sir, — On the question of the size of the Palestinian security forces, the following points are of interest:

• Last September 27, Steve Rodan wrote in *The Jerusalem Post*: "Israeli defense sources now say they must contend with at least 80,000 Palestinian fighters with automatic weapons. This includes about 30,000 Palestinian police officers, up to nine security services and thousands of fighters from Fatah and other organizations who possess Kalashnikov and other weapons."

• Palestinian human rights activist Bassam Eid, addressing a meeting in London on January 29, said there were at least 80,000 PLO "policemen," including preventive security officers, plainclothes agents and intelligence agents.

• The Government Press Office said in a statement on April 14: "The PA has unilaterally deployed more than 30,000 policemen in the West Bank and Gaza, exceeding the agreed-upon limit by over 6,000."

• Replying to a parliamentary question on May 27, Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said: "The authorized number of ... police numbered among the forces of the Palestinian police do not exceed the quantities set in the Oslo agreement. The Palestinian security forces in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, which were security authorized by Israel, number today 18,289 men."

• In response to recent queries by the writer, the PA Information Ministry said: "Regarding your inquiry about the number of the Palestinian security services, and the number of the members in each service, we are sorry that we cannot provide you with such information since it is not available."

Confused? So, it seems, is the government. And that's precisely what the PA intends.

PATRICK GOODENOUGH

Jerusalem.

הכזאן הכולל



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## Scared Straight

### The Wisdom of Children Who Have Known Too Much



At 145th Street and Eighth Avenue in Harlem, life seems less threatening than it was a few years ago. From left, Candice Whitehead, Moses Rosaro and Rahmel Miller.

Edward Kausung/The New York Times

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

**R**AHMEL MILLER still hears an occasional gunshot at night from his apartment building in Harlem. And there are still fistfights after school among his fellow fourth graders at P.S. 194 on West 144th Street.

But Rahmel, who is nine years old, says he feels a lot safer than his older brother did when he was starting high school only a few years ago, at the height of the epidemic of violence touched off by the advent of crack cocaine and the guns and gangs that followed. Rahmel doesn't feel the need to carry a gun, he doesn't aspire to be a drug dealer and when he leaves for school in the morning, his mother doesn't kiss him good-bye as if it was going to be the last time, as she did with his brother.

These are small but significant signs of how life has changed for young people in Harlem and in other inner cities across much of the nation as the record levels of murder and violence have begun to recede. The latest figures from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, released last week, showed that serious crime fell again in 1996, for the fifth straight year, with murders declining sharply to their lowest level since the late 1960's.

Equally important, Rahmel's story may also be an important part of the answer to a mystery that has

confounded criminologists, law enforcement officials and politicians: What has been driving the crime rate down? Different experts have their own favorite explanations, many reflecting society's decreasing toleration of lawbreaking: innovative police tactics, more criminals in prison, tougher gun control laws.

Other specialists point to the baby boom's aging out of its prime years for crime. Some have begun to wonder if the improving economy, with all its new jobs, may have helped — though criminologists have long doubted that there is any connection between employment and crime rates.

But on the streets, young people offer another theory, an explanation backed by social workers, probation officers and psychiatrists who work with juveniles from troubled families in poor neighborhoods. They believe there has been a shift in attitudes among the young people themselves.

#### Once a Thug

"People are getting smarter," said Salahadeen Betts, a 20-year-old neighbor of Rahmel's on 144th Street. "It's no more doing things on a whim. Before, people would say, I want to sell drugs, because it was the cool thing to do."

"Now people are thinking and planning, they are

**'Me not getting shot meant something. Maybe somebody had to die for me to learn.'**

more educated about guns and drugs," said Mr. Betts, who said he had been shot at and had been in jail, and that his high school teachers thought he was a "thug."

Precisely what has brought about this change is a subject of debate among the teen-agers and the people who work with them.

For Mr. Betts, the turning point came when a close friend was shot and killed on a street corner. "Right in front of me," while playing dice.

"Me not getting shot meant something," said Mr. Betts. "Maybe somebody had to die for me to learn." He is now a college student and a volunteer in an after-school program at P.S. 194 run by the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families, a nonprofit agency that offers services to poor children in Harlem.

Interviews with a dozen other students and volunteers at the Rheedlen Centers program at P.S. 194 showed similar experiences. Almost all had seen someone shot, and all had a close relative or friend who has been incarcerated.

In Boston, Bill Stewart, a probation officer, said he also saw the effect on children who had seen violence: "They saw what was happening and were witnesses to it. It was too unpleasant. They remember their mothers crying and their older brothers not coming home, for no reason, and they don't want to be a part of it."

And it isn't just the youngest who have recoiled from the gun culture. "Guns and violence are much less socially acceptable than they were a few years ago," said Dr. Carl Bell, a psychiatrist and a former gang member himself who is now chief executive officer of the Community Mental Health Council, a nonprofit agency on the South Side of Chicago.

#### A Parent Problem

Dr. Bell sees this change daily in the children who are sent to his clinic, most of them victims of abuse whose parents are on drugs. "These kids are real clear that drug addiction is not a good thing and that the violence

Continued on Page 3

Dr. Dostoyevsky's Diagnosis

## Deep in the Russian Soul, a Lethal Darkness

By MICHAEL SPECTER

**T**HERE are few more shocking trips one can take in Russia than to the general wards of a major hospital. Despite the well-publicized problems of the Russian health care system, it is not the hospitals themselves, or their staffs, that give alarm: it is almost always the age of the patients and their condition.

"Lung disease, heart attack, cancer, alcohol poisoning, high blood pressure," Tanya Rodinova, a 20-year-old nurse at this city's Hospital Number 4, reeled off the afflictions of five men, none of them yet 50. "The usual stuff. They are all going to die."

It may sound dismissive, but it is certainly true. Russian men are dying in middle age at a rate unparalleled in modern history: from too much smoking, too much vodka, horrid diets, little exercise and the enormous stress of rapid economic change and social dislocation since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Suicides are on the rise, so are murders, and some Russians wonder if yet another less tangible factor should be added: the gloomy Russian psyche. It is not the first time the question has been raised.

"It is the indifference toward everything that is vital — toward the truth of life, everything that nourishes life and generates health," Fyodor Dostoyevsky wrote in 1876, complaining of what seemed to be the incurable darkness of the Russian soul. "In our



Still Staring/24hr/Impact Visuals

A gloomy spirit oppresses Russian men. Poor diet and too much smoking and drinking don't help.

#### Mortal Coils

Deaths in Russia per 100,000 population for men aged 16 to 59 and women 16 to 54.



Source: Russian Federal Statistics

day this indifference — compared, let us say, with the outlook of other, European nations — is almost a Russian disease."

It is not clear that such pessimism over the future and the health of the nation was justified 100 years ago. There can be no doubt that it is now. An astonishing drop in life expectancy for Russian men over the past decade, combined with one of the lowest birthrates on earth, has turned this country into a demographic freak show.

There is almost no current demographic fact about Russia that would fail to shock: per capita alcohol consumption is the high-

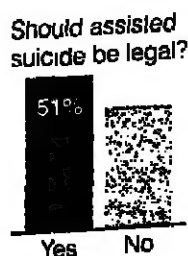
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#### Whose Life Is This?

Americans want the right to die. In theory.

By David E. Rosenbaum

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#### Sex and the Soldier

Wishing for perfection. Living with frailty.

By Linda Greenhouse

3



#### Turning in His Grave

France drags Gaullism down a few pegs.

By Roger Cohen

4





# The Nation

## Americans Want a Right to Die. Or So They Think.

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

**T**HE issue of whether doctors should be allowed to help seriously ill patients die is at the point where abortion was 25 or 30 years ago. The practice is officially illegal but widely condoned. Opposing views are so strongly held and so uncompromising that one side perceives a constitutional right where the other sees murder. And the question is being fought out in court, even though both sides agree that the issue is much more a moral and ethical matter than a legal one.

Before its session ends next month, the Supreme Court will rule on whether Americans have a constitutional right to die, just as the Court said in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 that they have a right to abortion.

That is only one aspect of the national debate. In Oregon, voters will be asked in November to decide again whether they want their state to be the first to legalize

But the question is not so simple as it sounds at first. The opinion surveys have not addressed the wrenching specifics that doctors, lawyers, theologians and philosophers are wrestling with, specifics that for many people first have meaning when they face them personally.

It is one thing to say that if you have inoperable cancer and suffer constant pain, you ought to be able to have a doctor help you die now in a peaceful, dignified way, rather than have to live a few more painful, burdensome and expensive months.

But what if the prognosis is that you have years to live? What if you are paralyzed but not in pain? How is your doctor's giving you a lethal injection different from his giving you a prescription for painkillers and instructing you how many pills will be fatal?

What if your mind is completely sound, but you are too feeble to take the pills yourself? What if you signed a statement when you had your mental faculties, saying you wanted to die when your disease reached a certain stage, and now that the disease has reached that point, you are no longer able to express your wishes?

Perhaps most worrisome in these days of cost-cutting in medicine, managed care and health maintenance organizations, if doctors are allowed to help patients die in some instances, what is to prevent your doctor from subtly encouraging you to ask to die?

No one knows the extent to which doctors already facilitate suicide. But day after day in hospices and hospital rooms across the country, terminally ill patients are given ever heavier doses of pain-killing drugs — with the full knowledge of the doctors, the patients' families and often the patients themselves.

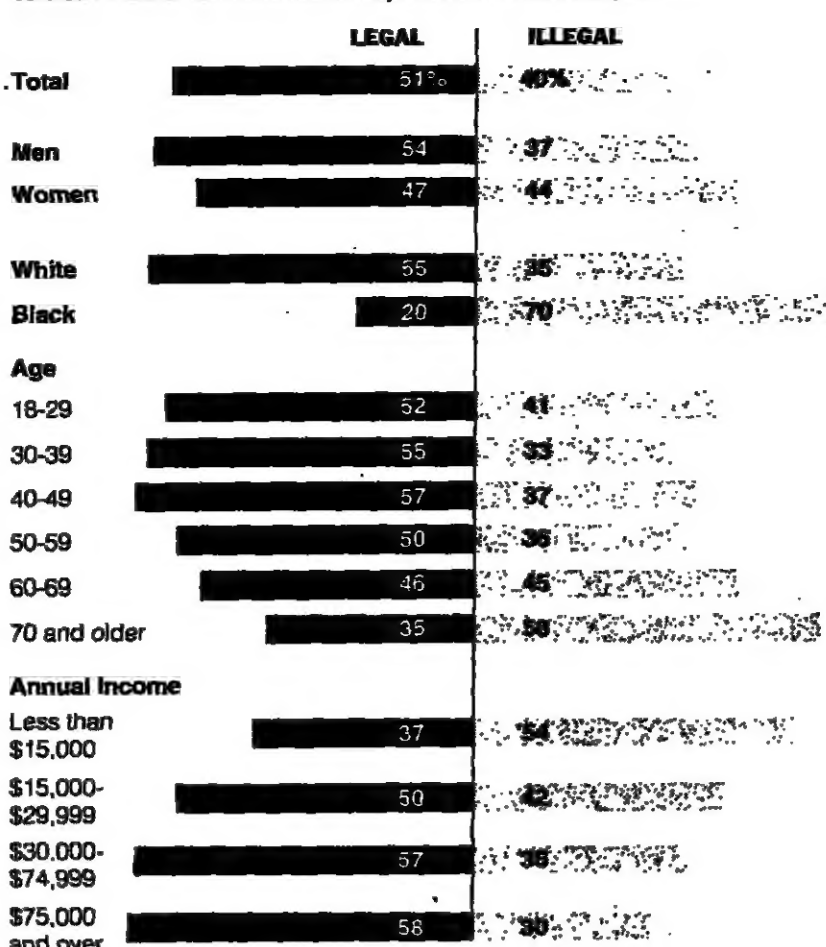
### Many Doctors Already Help

Many doctors and ethicists say that is not assisted suicide. Others say that drawing the distinction is splitting hairs. But no one disputes that many doctors are flouting the law and helping their patients die.

In a survey of almost 2,000 doctors in San Francisco who treated AIDS patients, slightly more than half said they had granted the request of at least one patient for assistance in dying. A survey of doctors in the state of Washington published last year in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* found that 1 in 4 said they had received a request for suicide assistance, and that a fourth of the patients who asked for help were given prescriptions for lethal drugs. In

### What the Public Thinks

Should it be legal or illegal for a doctor to help a terminally ill patient commit suicide? Here's how Americans responded in a national poll.



Based on a national telephone poll of 1,103 adults conducted by The Washington Post in March 1996. Those who did not know or with no answer are not shown.

The New York Times

This Supreme Court is unlikely to find another right — the right to die — in the Constitution.

What is most certain is that the Supreme Court ruling will not end the controversy.

For despite the black and white legal arguments heard by the Supreme Court, this is not primarily a legal or even a medical issue. Rather, said Dr. Arthur Caplan, director of the Center for Bioethics at the University of Pennsylvania, "It's basically a spiritual, emotional, psychological issue that involves redemption and courage and dignity."

Many authorities believe that when laws are widely disregarded and violations are almost never prosecuted, as is the case with assisted suicide, the laws should be repealed. "We need to focus our attention not on the law but on making sure abuse doesn't occur," said Alan Meisel, a professor of law and bioethics at the University of Pittsburgh.

### Moral Burdens

But others think the laws serve a purpose, even as they are disregarded. Michael J. Sandel, who teaches political philosophy at Harvard, generally opposes assisted suicide but says cases often do arise in which dire circumstances make it ethically proper for a doctor to help a patient die. "But whenever we decide to take that course," he said, "it should be burdened morally by the sense that we are taking a life, something that isn't entirely ours to take. Preserving the laws on the books is a way of keeping this sense of burden."

If there is a dominant view among ethicists, it is probably the one offered by Lewis Smedes, a professor emeritus of ethics at the Fuller Theological Seminary in California.

Physician-assisted suicide, he said, is one of the rare issues in which ambiguity is preferable to moral consistency, in which judgments on a case-by-case basis are better than strict laws or guidelines about what is right and what is wrong.

"Sometimes," Mr. Smedes said, "it is better just to leave things murky."

### Why People Get Rich

## Good or Bad, Greed Is Often Beside the Point

By ANDREW HACKER

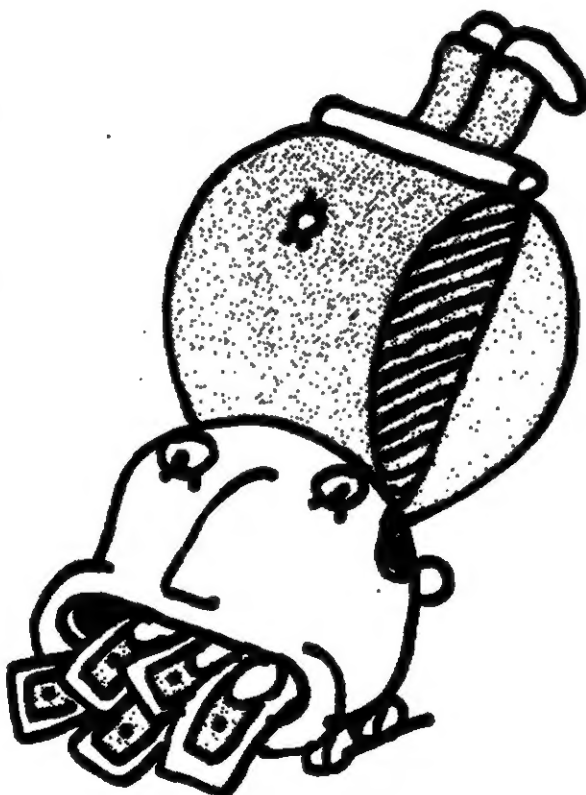
**G**REED connotes coveting, demanding, keeping more than you should rightly have. Hence the negative images of Midas and his insatiable appetite for gold and of Scrooge gloating over the misfortunes of others. But does the charge of avarice apply to charmers like Tiger Woods and Julia Louis-Dreyfus?

In fact, there's a public ambivalence about the upward flow of money. Americans know the rich are getting richer: The Internal Revenue Service counts four times as many households declaring incomes over \$1 million compared with 15 years ago, computed in constant dollars. Yet today the character of Gordon Gekko, the corporate-raiding antihero of the 1987 movie "Wall Street," seems overdrawn. Even those unsettled by the shift in wealth seem hesitant about framing the discussion in moral terms. With the ascendancy of free markets generally accepted around the world, debates focus less on whether greed is good or bad than on specific checks on excess: on when or which superpayments may be deserved.

### The Pay Minuet

Case in point: "Seinfeld." Ms. Louis-Dreyfus and Jerry Seinfeld's two other sitcom sidekicks — Jason Alexander and Michael Richards — each asked \$22 million, or \$1 million per episode, for the coming season, and settled for \$13 million, or \$600,000 per episode. That's \$25,000 per sit-minute, more than the starting annual salary of a child-abuse investigator. Greed? Not necessarily. The three knew that NBC (an arm of General Electric) has a booming balance sheet, much of it owing to them. The money was there, so why shouldn't they have their share? Viewed this way, their millions look more like equity. Moreover, even stars cannot count on lengthy careers; today's outsized salaries are tomorrow's retirement checks. And of course a big part of the equation is that Americans like the Seinfeld crew.

Andrew Hacker teaches political science at Queens College. His book, "Money: Who Has How Much and Why," is being published this month by Scribner.



The pay minuet involves consenting adults. Jim Carrey has been getting \$20 million per movie, and this basketball season Michael Jordan got \$300,000 per game. But are actors and athletes overreaching when they accept the highest bid of a studio or team? Thus far the public hasn't been blaming stars for rising ticket prices.

Similarly, Tiger Woods's first \$60 million endorsement came before he won the Masters, and he hardly had to crowbar it out of his benefactors. So here, too, the charge of excess doesn't easily fit. Since Mr. Woods has been seized upon as a national symbol, and looks set to live up to his potential (and has even begun doing so), his rewards are not begrudged.

Star systems also permeate more staid professions. The 1,059 partners in New York's top 10 law firms averaged \$1.04 million in 1995. (For all lawyers, the national median is \$72,144.) But those lawyers own the firms where they work, and Americans don't usually cavil if proprietors take what they like from the till. Nor can it be charged that they underpay their underlings: associates can get \$100,000 while still in their 20's.

Still, the bottom line is that the firms' clients are willing to pay high fees for what they think is the best talent. Charging whatever you can get would become suspect if needed goods or services were kept in short supply. But that situation doesn't apply in the legal profession: the country has 880,000 lawyers, and clients are not bereft of choice.

### Just Take It

But what about executive pay? Since 1990, Philip Knight, Nike's chief executive officer, has seen his fortune quadruple, to \$5.3 billion from \$1.2 billion. The reason may be simply stated: people choose Nike shoes, and investors like the company's stock. So it seems incongruous to charge Mr. Knight with greed just because the money keeps rolling in. Still, part of his billions come

Today Gordon Gekko seems an exaggeration: there's much method to what looks like money-grabbing madness.

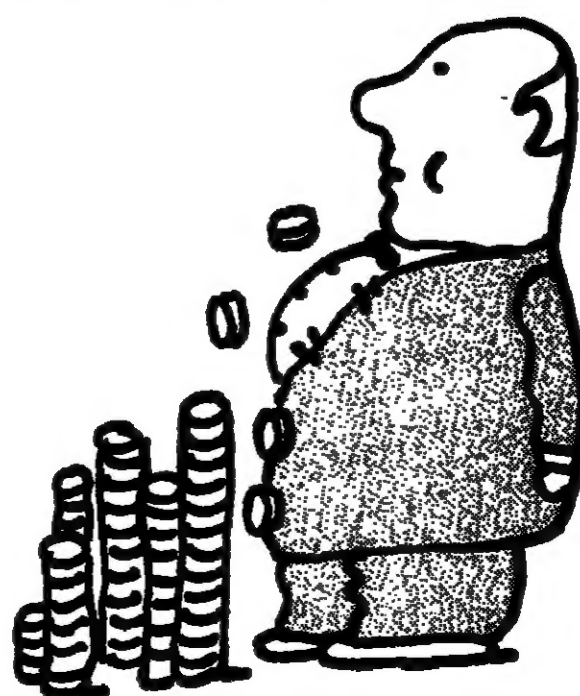
from the shoes' being made in Asia at very minimal wages, and fortunes from underpaid labor seldom fare well in public esteem. Mr. Knight would undoubtedly reply that manufacturing overseas makes his products affordable here, which puts critics in the position of wanting to make people pay more for their Air Jordans.

Corporate executives are employees, like most of the rest of us. And like most of us, they can also be fired, as happens from time to time. Still, their relationships with their boards of directors tend to be friendly, especially where pay is concerned. Last year, the median compensation package for chief executive officers at the 100 largest companies was \$3.3 million — the highest it's ever been in corporate history, even with inflation factored in. And the gulf between executives and lower tiers on the payroll has been growing. In fact, C.E.O.'s often receive raises just as their personnel departments are sending out pink slips.

### Keeping Score

But opinions on corporate pay are divided. More Americans are buying stocks and mutual funds, or count on invested pensions, so many do not begrudge extra millions to executives who make them money.

Then again, even *Forbes* magazine has found itself saying of soaring pay: "It Doesn't Make Sense!" Raising



Stuart Goldenberg

eyebrows are some C.E.O.'s who apparently want to see how far they can push their pay envelopes. The \$45 million that Michael Eisner has averaged from Disney in recent years is more than 13 times the corporate norm. With stock options and awards of \$998 million, Roberto Goizueta of Coca-Cola has made nearly 100 times more than his executive peers make on average.

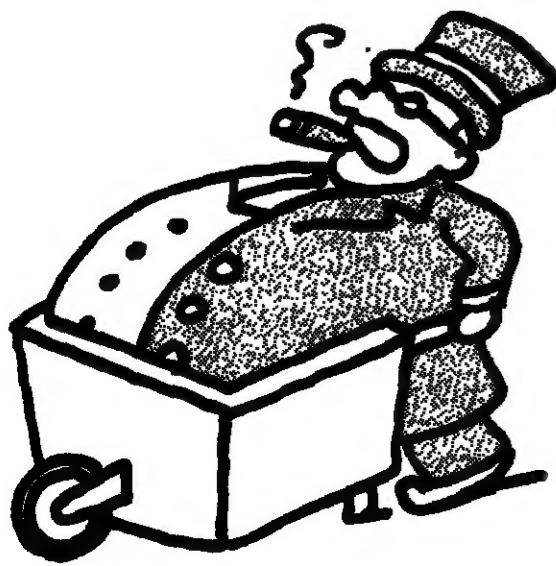
True, both have done well by their shareholders. But so have many other C.E.O.'s who are not nearly so lavishly paid. And at least a few who could have pushed for that kind of compensation have chosen not to.

Yet greed, if that's what it is, isn't always about money, and this further clouds the issue of whether it's good or bad. Motives for acquisition are varied, starting with the simple joy of winning. Dollars can be a way of keeping score, whether the game is Rupert Murdoch (net worth: \$3.2 billion) vs. Ted Turner (\$2.1 billion) or how one's paycheck compares with a colleague's down the hall. Media moguls like Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Turner may crave one more network or newspaper chain, the better to set their imprint on the world — or perhaps to show long-ago schoolmates who ended on top.

### Glass Houses

In fact, Americans have fairly settled standards about who deserves how much. Thus they don't like the heads of health maintenance organizations getting hefty bonuses when they will only pay for one-day maternity stays. And past a certain point, people begin to wonder why someone wants even more, and the speculation is not always flattering.

At the same time, it is not clear how far the urge to acquire drives the economy. If anything, the reverse may be true. For many political and economic reasons, the 1990's have surpassed the 1980's in creating opportunities for becoming rich. And those who do, much like the rest of us, see no reason to refuse what comes their way. If that is perceived as greedy, then a lot of people are living in glass houses.





## The Nation

## An Answer to Life's Little Hypocrisies

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

IF the sudden frenzy here over adultery in the military has a familiar ring to it, no wonder: the most directly relevant analogy is not Hester Prynne's New England but Zoë Baird's Washington.

Military officers have been having sex for years with consenting adults to whom they were not married, without forfeiting either their careers or their public standing. Witness Dwight D. Eisenhower, whose well-known extramarital involvement with a woman in his chain of command cost him neither the command nor the Presidency. Now, a more limited indiscretion, revealed in the immediate aftermath of the Air Force's bungled handling of an adultery case against a female bomber pilot, will likely cost an Air Force general the chance to become chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Gen. Joseph W. Ralston is only the latest public figure to be set adrift on a suddenly turning tide. Before President Clinton made Zoë Baird his first choice to be Attorney General, countless nominees for high political office skirted through confirmation hearings without their child care arrangements attracting so much as a passing thought, although surely more than a few of them had not bothered to check their babysitters' or cleaning ladies' immigration status.

Ms. Baird's disclosure that her household help lacked green cards — a completely unremarkable fact among two-income professional couples — coincided with a sudden public clamor over illegal aliens and a lingering distrust of women who don't take care of their own children all day long. The uproar did more than cost one distinguished lawyer a good job. Many others, principally although not exclusively women, found themselves disabled from seeking Government jobs. The effect still lingers, particularly in southern California, where undocumented Mexican workers are almost universally employed in upper-middle-class homes and where female lawyers to this day say they cannot con-

sider seeking Federal judgeships.

The paroxysms of sanctimony that sweep over Washington with apparent randomness are actually as predictable as tidal waves that hit tropical coasts in hurricane season. It may not be clear where they will strike, but someone, somewhere, is going to get swamped. Ask Douglas H. Ginsburg, a Federal appeals court judge whose 1987 Supreme Court nomination failed after the disclosure that he had smoked marijuana years earlier.

Before the next tidal wave carries yet another subset of the battered postwar generation out to sea, a country searching for leadership for the much-vaunted 21st century might consider a modest proposal: a social amnesty. The curtain would be pulled down over minor transgressions of the past, and an open public debate could help decide which future misdeeds should bar the offending parties from participating in public life.

## Pious Scorekeeping

The idea is not as far-fetched as it might sound. In 1977, President Carter declared an amnesty for young men who had left the country to avoid military service in Vietnam — a public act of generosity that is hard to imagine in the current climate of pious score-keeping, but which helped the country's healing process after a corrosive war. And 36 states have recently offered tax amnesties, limited periods during which delinquent taxpayers can pay what they owe and avoid fines and criminal penalties. New Jersey's 90-day amnesty last year netted \$359 million, four times what the state had expected. People paid their debts and got on with their lives.

The public has never had a chance to debate the costs and benefits of the military's approach to extramarital sex. There may well be reasons for holding military officers, on pain of criminal punishment, to higher standards of behavior than the rest of society. Or the price in hypocrisy and inconsistent enforcement may no longer be worth the theory. Should love affairs within a military unit be treated differently from dalliances between a military officer and a civilian? Let the amnesty and the debate begin.



Nancy Carpenter

## Labor's Lost Love

## A Union Comeback? Tell It to Sweeney

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

SINCE taking the helm of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. 20 months ago, John J. Sweeney has learned more than he would like about Newton's third law of motion: every action has an opposite and equal reaction. He has discovered that every move labor makes to dig itself out of its hole is countered by a move to shove labor back in.

Last fall, the 13 million-member labor federation spent more than it ever had before in the hope of recapturing Congress for the Democrats, but that only spurred corporations to contribute more to Republicans, thus largely negating the unions' push. Now labor is doubling its budget to recruit new members, but that has merely encouraged business to hire even more pliant consultants and lawyers to beat back the unions.

"Every action does generate a reaction, and at the end it's not clear whether labor is better off or worse off," said Gregory Tarpinian, executive director of the Labor Research Association, a consulting group. "At the same time, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has no choice but to keep on pushing ahead."

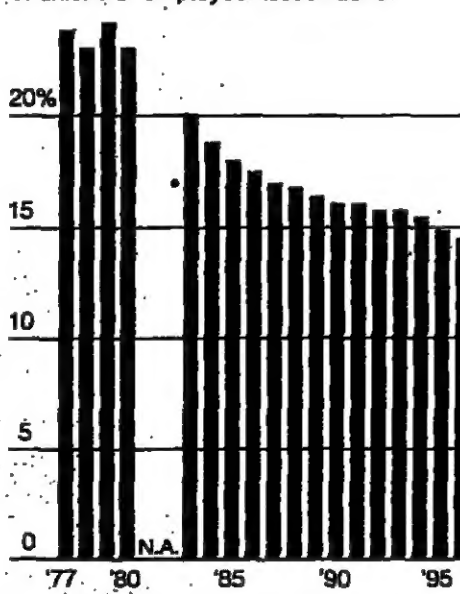
Certainly labor's rank and file and liberals in general have applauded Mr. Sweeney's effort to bring labor back from the dead. But countervailing forces are strong.

Despite his campaign for new members, the number of unionized workers fell over the last two years by nearly 500,000, pushed down by powerful forces like downsizing and the flight of jobs overseas. And then, of course, there is a new economic mood. Decades ago, many Americans grew up in a union, pro-New Deal households and saw themselves as members of the working class, but now many Americans see themselves as part of an upwardly mobile middle class that views unions as irrelevant.

There is a new political mood, too. Not only did the Democrats fail to win back the House and Senate, but Congress in many

## Union Blues

Percentage of total work force, excluding self-employed workers, who are members of unions or employee associations.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

The New York Times

ways is more hostile to labor than it was before Mr. Sweeney became the federation's president. The first legislation House Republicans took up was a bill to overhaul the 60-year-old law on overtime, which is sacrosanct to labor. The House passed the bill, and it awaits a Senate vote.

And while the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has built up many chits with the White House, President Clinton has ignored many of labor's wishes. He signed the new welfare law, despite labor's opposition. In choosing a successor to Labor Secretary Robert Reich, he shunned labor's No. 1 choice, former Senator Harris Wofford, naming instead Alexis



John J. Sweeney, center, was arrested in a protest in New Haven, Conn., in December.

Herman, a distant second choice. And he is expected to seek to expand the North American Free Trade Agreement without the protections demanded by unions.

In an interview, Mr. Sweeney resisted suggestions that progress had been slower or harder than expected. "I really think that things are going great," he said. "I couldn't be more enthusiastic about the excitement that I see when I travel around."

He noted that more than 1,000 college students enrolled in a union internship program last summer that aimed to turn them into labor activists. He also noted that 725 people attended a recent conference in Mi-

ami, never a hotbed of unionism, on how to recruit workers. And in April, he noted, more than 20,000 activists from dozens of unions trekked to Watsonville, Calif., to propel an effort to unionize strawberry workers.

Downplaying any setbacks, Mr. Sweeney had a practical message: Unless labor continues plowing ahead with its efforts at regeneration, it is doomed to continue its decades-long slide. To plow ahead, he is pushing strategies like strengthening ties with the clergy and minorities, rebuilding moribund city labor councils and redoubling efforts to recruit women and low-wage em-

ployees, like janitors, nurses' aides and even warfare workers — a fast-growing group that labor fears is taking away union jobs and pulling down wages.

Mr. Sweeney, labor experts say, has a rare window of opportunity to turn things around after the movement drifted toward oblivion during the 15 years that his predecessor, Lane Kirkland, ran the federation. Buying into Mr. Sweeney's strategy, labor leaders, often a churlish, tight-fisted bunch, have pledged money and manpower to organizing and politics — although only about 15 of the 78 unions in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. are vigorously recruiting new members. As for the rank and file, it is showing more enthusiasm than it has in decades; many more members of the machinists, service employees and hotel workers unions, for example, are volunteering evenings and weekends to organizing campaigns.

In light of labor's recent setbacks, it has dawned on many union members that expectations for a quick rebound might have been unrealistically high.

The obstacles are daunting and public apathy pervasive. Labor still often comes up empty handed from lengthy strikes, like that at the Detroit newspapers. Many union locals are still headed by \$150,000-a-year bureaucrats who critics complain care more about their Cadillacs than about organizing. Labor has struck out in recruiting workers in one of the nation's fastest growing industries: computers, including manufacturing, software and data processing.

Mr. Sweeney says expectations of a quick turnaround are naïve. "Anybody who has thought about it knows that for the kind of growth and level of changes we need, we have to build an entirely new foundation," he said. "The decline has been a long time coming. What we're doing now is a huge undertaking. We made a start on it last year, but the bottom line is about rebuilding a progressive voice in our country. That's something that has been needed for a long time, and it's not going to happen overnight."

## The Wisdom of Children Who Have Known Too Much

Continued From Page 1

that goes along with it in the family is not a good thing," Dr. Bell said. "They will sit there and tell you they want to be a drug addiction counselor or a policeman, to correct the problem."

In New York, although Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and former Police Commissioner William J. Bratton have credited their introduction of aggressive stop-and-frisk police tactics for much of the city's stunning decline in violent crime, the young people at P.S. 194 bitterly disagree.

"How come when the violence goes down, it's because of the police, and when it goes up, it's us?" asked Mr. Betts.

"I don't think the cops have done a thing to lower crime," he added, except to stop young black men without cause. Every one of the dozen young people interviewed knew of someone who had been stopped by the police — unfairly, they thought — in recent months.

Milton Bright, an 18-year-old high school student,

said he was recently stopped by police officers as he was coming out of a park with a straw in his mouth. "They said I was smoking weed," said Mr. Bright. "It was awfully long weed."

The young people did acknowledge, however, that the new police emphasis on arresting juveniles found with handguns and making criminal cases for gun possession has deterred many teen-agers from continuing to carry guns.

"The first time I had a gun, I had a .32 in my sweatpants, it was so easy to see I was crazy," said James Bellamy, a 24-year-old college student. Now, people he knows are much more cautious: "They keep their guns at home. They don't want to be arrested."

The young people and the experts do agree on one factor that has reduced shootings — the stabilization of the drug market. When crack was first introduced in 1986, the old heroin distribution channels broke down. "Everyone was selling crack, even the kids, each doing their own thing," Mr. Bellamy said. "That led to a lot of conflict, with guys saying, 'You standing on my corner,'

and shooting each other."

Now, Mr. Betts said, "the heads," or big dealers, are all older, in their 30's, and they are more organized. For these dealers, he said, "it's like a regular business, with employees, and they invest their profits in stores and beauty parlors and support their wives and children."

Another important difference, for the young people, is the introduction of after-school programs and greater adult attention to their problems as neighborhoods belatedly tried to respond to the increase in violence. "Five years ago, to be a man, you had to have a gun," said Treaston Lambert, a 21-year-old student at Baruch College. "None of my friends believed they could finish high school or go to college."

## Just Fistfights

"Now there are alternatives," said Mr. Lambert, like the Rheedlen Centers program at P.S. 194, which has 500 students, ages 6 to 22, in after-school classes.

Geoffrey Canada, the president of the Rheedlen Cen-

ters, said the younger children today "do not have as much direct involvement with handguns" as their older siblings did a few years ago. They have heard shots fired, he said, but haven't seen a gun themselves.

"For these younger kids, violence is very much just a matter of fistfights," a return to the more familiar pattern of 15 years ago, Mr. Canada said. "Then, I considered fistfights a terrible thing, but now it is almost refreshing."

Still, some of the young people themselves worry that in a few years a new generation of teen-agers, not knowing the lessons of the last few years, will revert to greater violence. "It's coming back," said Mr. Betts. "The little kids I work with have no family values."

Candice Whitehead, a 10-year-old at P.S. 194, loves books but does not like her school because of all the fights. She is a cheerleader, and at a recent basketball game, the cheerleaders from another elementary school "called us sluts," Candice said. That led to some grabbing and punching.

"When you are at school," she said, "you're supposed to be learning, so you can get a fantastic job."



# The World

## France's Old Soldier Fades Away

By ROGER COHEN

**G**AULLISM is as much a feeling as an idea. Its components include a visceral French patriotism that has often spilled over into anti-Americanism, a strong belief in the state, a Bonapartist flirtation with authoritarianism and a dash of rebellious bloody-mindedness that holds the dry rules of economics and market forces in contempt.

Various configured, Gaullism has survived at the center of French politics, embodied by the office of the President itself, which was tailored to Gen. Charles de Gaulle's wishes in the Fifth Republic's Constitution of 1958. The idea was that he should stand above the parliamentary mayhem that sapped the Fourth Republic and serve as what he called the "guide and rallying point" of the nation.

If last week was not the week Gaullism died, it was certainly one that caused the General to turn in his grave. His office was diminished, perhaps irremediably, by the blunders of a Gaullist President, Jacques Chirac, who put his personal authority on the line by calling early parliamentary elections only to see a coalition of Socialists and Communists sweep to power.

### Neo-Fascism Wins

The extraordinary sight of the Socialist leader, Lionel Jospin, standing alone on the steps of the President's Élysée Palace last Monday and announcing his own appointment as Prime Minister said much about the way France has changed. It is the President who names the Prime Minister; traditionally it is also the President's office that announces the appointment. But as the weekly L'Express observed, Mr. Jospin has become "a second President." So he did his own honors.

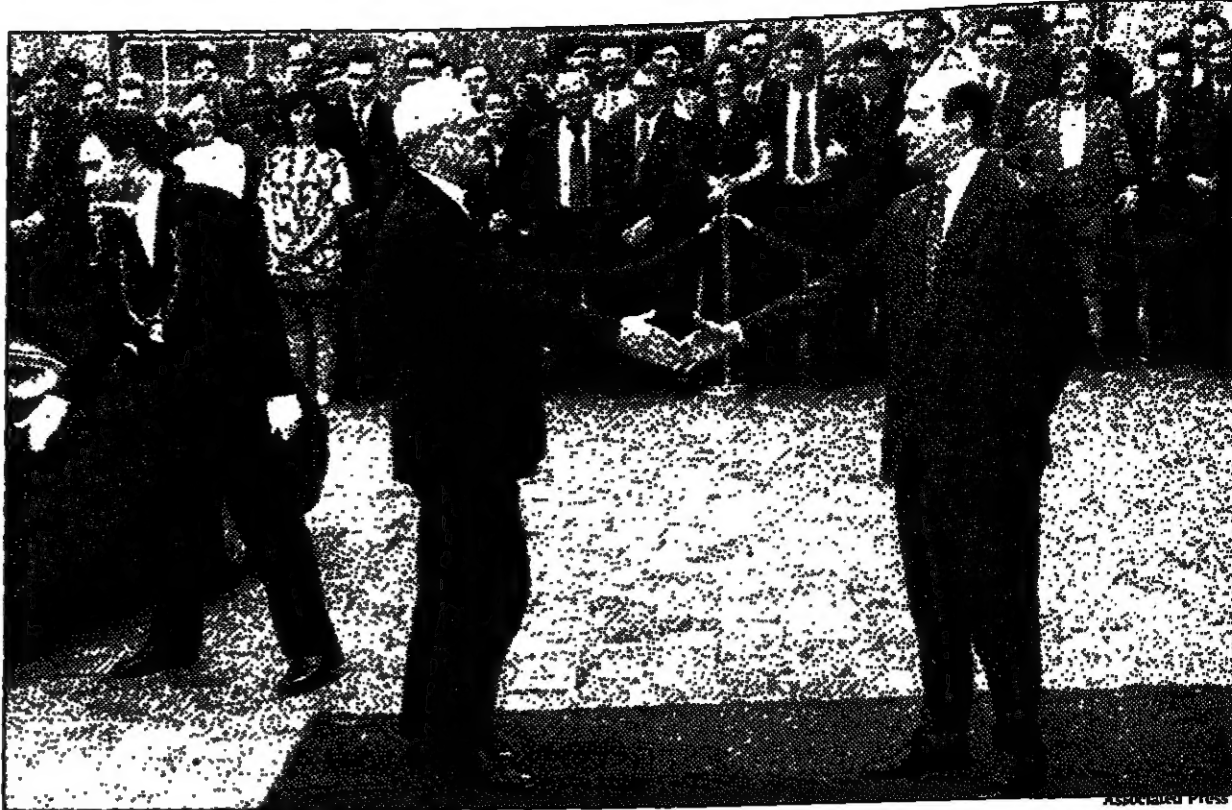
At a deeper level, the roots of Gaullism were sapped by the election's demonstration that the extreme-right National Front party was now strong enough, with 15 percent of the vote, to hold the moderate right to ransom.

Gaullism emerged, with the Free France movement in 1940, to confront the fascism of Nazi-controlled Vichy. It re-emerged in 1958 to defeat the fascist currents in the French military and society that had been brought to fever-pitch by the Algerian war. It appears, however, to have been brought to its knees in 1997 by the neo-fascism of the National Front leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, an embittered veteran of the Algerian conflict.

"Gaullism's defeat lies in its failure to drive back the extreme right," Jean-Marie Colombani, the editor of Le Monde, wrote. "The Gaullists would have survived if they had known how to stave off the threat of neo-fascism."

Mr. Le Pen's message is simple enough. He is a racist and has described the Holocaust as a mere "detail" of World War II. With more than 3 million people unemployed — 12.8 percent of the work force — his solution is to throw out more than 3 million French immigrants. Start with the North Africans, then the black Africans, then the Asians and then the rest.

Beyond this blunt plan, he has exploited everything, from globalization to French plans to join a common European currency called the euro in 1999, to suggest that Gallic sovereignty and history is about to be washed away in an undifferentiated tide of American technology and German monetarism — a tide that the Gaullist



Power shift: France's new Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, left, and his defeated predecessor, Alain Juppé.

President, Mr. Chirac, is too feeble to resist.

In so doing, he has stolen the Gaullists' patriotic thunder, destroyed their dike against the far right, and propelled his party from less than 1 percent of the vote in 1981 to its current position as the arbiter of the French right's fate. It was the National Front's decision not to give broad support to the Gaullists in the second round of voting last Sunday that insured Mr. Chirac's defeat.

### Euro Irony

A central irony of the current situation is that De Gaulle favored European unity precisely to offset France's postwar decline and constitute it once more as a power allied with Germany; and François Mitterrand, Mr. Chirac's predecessor and a Gaullist in all but name, pursued the same objective.

Yet it is Europe, in the end, that has undermined the Gaullist message by exposing it to the taunt that the General's patriotism has now been betrayed. Indeed, nothing could be further from the spirit of Gaullism than the talk of budget deficits, convergence criteria and the like that is the background drone of the euro's gestation.

In an impassioned protest, the writer Denis Tillinac, a friend of President Chirac, expressed horror last week at the way Gaullism has been betrayed by the growing hold of technocrats on politics. "Gaullism," Mr. Tillinac said, "is a particular eroticism, plebeian, sentimental and situated at the fluctuating frontier of Bonapartism, populism and anarchism. You can exalt a Gaullist by calling on him to fight a German (once upon a time), a Communist, a socialist, the powerful and the rich. You cannot

provoke an erection by calling on him to combat budget deficits or satisfy the theology of central bankers."

Such fervor may sound mad or dangerous or both. But it is there in the angry French mood. And, although apparently moribund, Gaullism still has the power to contribute to the peculiarity of French politics.

For while the right moved right in America and Britain, allowing the left of Bill Clinton and Tony Blair to occupy the center, the Gaullist attachment to the state and rejection of market reform encouraged the Socialists to keep further to the left, to distinguish themselves.

"The right can't let go of the state, so the left stays left," said Ezra Suleiman, a professor of international relations at Princeton University.

What now? Guy Mollet, a senior aide to De Gaulle, once said that "France has the stupidest political right in the world." But the right will have to show lucidity if it is to emerge again as a compelling force.

Michel Lussault, a political scientist, said that as long as the 68-year-old Mr. Le Pen was there, no alliance between the Gaullists and the National Front was possible. "After Le Pen, we could gradually see a rehabilitation of the National Front, along the lines of what the former fascists have done in Italy."

In that case, he added, a loose alliance of the right might eventually emerge. Without it, Gaullism looks permanently orphaned in the age of European integration. France does not want number-crunching and American recipes for growth; it wants to dream a little, however treacherous its illusions. That indeed was the message of the Socialist victory and the Gaullist defeat.

### Dr. Dostoyevsky's Diagnosis

## Russia's Dark Soul

Continued From Page 1

est in the world, nearly double the danger level drawn by the World Health Organization; a wider gap has developed in life expectancy between men (59) and women (73) than in any other country; the mortality rate of 15.1 deaths per 1,000 people puts Russia ahead of only Afghanistan and Cambodia among the countries of Europe, Asia and America (the rate for the United States is 8.8); the death rate among working-age Russians today is higher than a century ago. And there is much more.

"The current death rates present the clearest possible threat to the national security of Russia," a special report to President Boris N. Yeltsin recently concluded. "Only extreme measures will help us out of this demographic crisis."

### Societal Suicide

Yet the health crisis has received little top-level attention and almost no money. The Government spends less than 2.6 percent of the gross national product on health care, far below the levels of other industrial nations. For the most part, it has been nationalist politicians and health care advocates who have led the debate on the mortality issue, casting it as "genocide" for the Russian people.

"I don't think when you are killing off half a million able-bodied men every year, it is unfair to call that genocide," said Aleksandr Prokhanov, the extremist editor of the newspaper Zavtra and the intellectual leader of the nationalist opposition. To him and his allies, the figures reflect the economic changes of the Yeltsin era.

"How many have to die before we realize what is going on here?" he said. Most demographers say the slide in health began long ago and was covered up by inconsistent and contradictory statistics. Whatever the reasons, the figures for the past five years are worse than ever: the mortality rate for Russian men age 40 to 49 was 18.3 per 1,000 in 1995, 77 percent higher than in 1990, when it was 9.2.

Even the good news is hard to take: Life expectancy for men may actually have risen slightly in 1996 from the previous year — simply because the most vulnerable young people have already died. The raw number of sick children, appallingly high by any standard, appears lower this year only because so few children have been born

over the past several years.

"It has become an issue of ethics, of morality and of politics," said Dr. Valery Yelizarov, a demographer at Moscow State University. "No society can survive such patterns for long. What bothers me most is how people assume it is inevitable, part of the Russian male mentality. Russian men have always had an indifference to their health. But it has to stop or the consequences will be too awful to predict."

Soon after Dostoyevsky noted the "Russian disease," demographers carried out the nation's first major census and projected that by this time the population would be 400 million. Instead, it is 147.5 million, and the most recent report to Mr. Yeltsin suggests that if new health and education initiatives are not adopted soon the population of Russia will decrease by as much as 30 million in the next 50 years.

The implications of such change are stark. Of the 3.5 million people under age 60 who died in Russia over the past five years — a figure with parallels in modern history only during vast famines or prolonged wars — most have been working-age people desperately needed to help lift Russia from its depression.

In 1940, working-age people accounted for 40 percent of the population and the elderly 8 percent. Now the figure for the elderly is triple that proportion, nearly 24 percent, while that for working-age people has been cut in half.

### No Confidence, No Children

And there is no sign of relief. Despite a slight rise in life expectancy, the Russian population fell by 480,000 last year, the steepest such decline in any year since World War II, according to state statistics. "You do have to ask yourself how long can this go on?" said Carl Haub, a demographer with the Population Reference Bureau in Washington. Russia's low birthrate — only Italy and Spain have lower ones — is a clear reflection, he said, of a lack of optimism for the future among Russians.

"You keep expecting it to turn around and it doesn't," he said. "Obviously there are very significant long-term implications to all this. People often focus on the death rate. And in Russia, of course, it is bad. But the birthrate and the health of children who are born play a much larger role than the death rate. They are the future of the country."

## You Spy?

By TIM WEINER

**M**15, the British foreign intelligence service, placed its first help wanted ad a few days ago, offering "a career like no other" and listing a telephone number to call.

But a smart-aleck hacker infiltrated M15's answering machine. Thousands who responded heard a message from "Colonel Botch of the K.G.B.," the old Soviet espionage outfit, promising callers their résumés would be forwarded to Moscow. Aspiring James Bonds were shaken, not stirred.

Times are tough for the world's spy services. Their mystique has all but evaporated. Bereaved by the cold war's close, bereft of their old enemies, betrayed by their own spies, American, British and Russian intelligence want fresh blood. Each is shopping for new talent, each in its own way.

The Russians are trying to turn their traitors into double agents. On Tuesday, Gen. Nikolai Kovalyov, head of the Federal Security Service, the successor to the K.G.B., announced on television a telephone hot line he had set up for Russian citizens spying for foreign powers. The deal: "Fess up, do your duty for the motherland and you can get two paychecks, one from us and one from your foreign paymasters. This is what the once fearsome and secretive spy service has come to: pleading for charity on TV."

To attack the international mafias that are flourishing in Moscow, Russian intelligence is also hiring crime-busting gumshoes. Bring your own gun, a bad attitude and a short life expectancy.

The British spy service's ads seek a more buttoned-down breed: business managers and university graduates with four years' work experience. They note that British intelligence officers have had past lives as marketing executives, teachers, fund-raisers, overseas aid workers, teachers and — heaven forfend — reporters. The Brits, like the Russians, are focusing on drug smuggling, organized crime and terrorism.

And the Central Intelligence Agency — well, the C.I.A. has been placing help wanted notices (no, they're not called "classifieds") for 17 years. Last year it ran about 60 newspaper ads and about 120 ads in magazines and professional journals, from The Economist to Ebony. The agency's website (www.odci.gov/cia) just listed openings for computer whizzes, language instructors, psychologists, theatrical effects specialists (experienced in cosmetology, makeup and costuming), and leather and fabric crafters skilled in "fabrication." There is still call for false-bottomed diplomatic pouches.

The agency, though, also wants young



Sean Connery, the original 007.

spies. "More than a job, this is a way of life," its latest ad says. "It demands an adventurous spirit... a forceful personality... superior intellectual ability... toughness of mind... and the highest degree of integrity." Advanced degrees and military experience are pluses, as are "backgrounds in Central Eurasian, East Asian and Middle Eastern languages."

Boiled down to the basics, that ad might read: Wanted — 25-year-old Asian-American woman with M.B.A. and working knowledge of automatic weapons, expert in computer programming, fluent in Turkish and Uzbek. Middling salary, long hours, utter anonymity. Call the C.I.A. — please.

The agency badly wants Asian-Americans and African-Americans, who can blend into a marketplace in Kinshasa or a bazaar in Beijing a lot easier than a white guy. But they are hard to find and to keep, the agency has discovered.

In the 1950's, the C.I.A. skimmed the cream off the Ivies, Wall Street and Madison Avenue. In the 1990's, potential spies have either skills worth more than the salaries the agency can pay (\$32,507 to start), or experience well shy of the C.I.A.'s deep needs. That Asian-American M.B.A. can go to Morgan Stanley and make serious money, without having to pass a lie-detector test.

To make matters worse, the C.I.A.'s hiring and personnel systems have been "de-

## Let's Talk

teriorating for the past 15 years," the agency's executive director, Nora Slaktin, told Congress last September. Between 1979 and 1986, she said, "there have been five major studies of the agency's human resources system with a total of 86 recommendations" but only one recommendation, an annual report card, was instituted agency wide.

As a result, she said, "We invest large amounts of money in hiring exceptionally skilled employees but fail to give them the best opportunities to grow and flourish. We invest too much money targeting, screening and hiring our employees to lose them or to use them ineffectively."

### Career Killers

So what is the C.I.A. to do? It says it is changing the way that it hires, trains, retains and promotes people. Its director-designate, George J. Tenet, said at his confirmation hearings that this was the single most important task before him. As Ms. Slaktin testified, "we have pigeon-holed employees in positions for too long." In the future, she said, anyone will be able to compete for any position. Training will be career-long. Pay will be linked to performance.

But last week the new generation of spies was reminded that intelligence is a profession peculiarly susceptible to Murphy's Law. A former C.I.A. station chief, Harold J. Nicholson, the agency's own Colonel Botch, was sentenced to 23 years and seven months in prison on Thursday for selling the Russians every secret he had learned in his 16 years with the agency. Among them were the identities of many of the 1994, 1995 and 1996 graduates of the C.I.A.'s school for spies — trainees he himself had instructed in the black arts of espionage.

Thanks to Mr. Nicholson, many of those young officers are now condemned to desk-bound drudgery far from the back alleys of the world — to careers like any other.



James Bonds carry on: from left, Timothy Dalton, Roger Moore and Pierce Brosnan.



## ECONOMY

## Jobs for College Grads Are Plentiful, if Not So Glamorous

By ROBYN MEREDITH

As sure as the promise of a spring day, millions of proud parents have been descending lately on the nation's campuses, snapping pictures of their daughters and sons collecting college diplomas.

Parents and students alike have been preparing for this moment for decades, before many parents took out second mortgages and the typical graduate piled up \$12,300 in debt to help cover bills for tuition, room and board that average \$10,000 a year. Now it is time for that steep investment, as much as \$130,000 in the case of some elite private schools, to return dividends.

There is plenty of good news for those receiving undergraduate degrees this year, but with just enough caveats to keep some people on edge.

Over all, the job market for the 1.2 million graduates this year is the strongest in memory, partly because companies, in their aggressive downsizing drives of recent years, may have laid off too many workers of their parents' generation.

Many Ivy League graduates and those with degrees in highly marketable areas like business administration and computer science can expect plenty of job offers at high pay. And the nation's highest-profile student, Chelsea Clinton, is unlikely to find herself behind a counter waiting

on customers when she graduates from Stanford, where she will be a freshman this fall. In contrast, those with weak grades and little patience for job searches may struggle to find work, as they always do.

But just how good is it for the rest of the army that is resolutely marching out of the classrooms and into the real world?

It turns out to be pretty good indeed for a broad swath of the newly minted grads. Many had the luxury of choosing among several job offers months before commencement exercises began. And starting salaries are, for the most part, higher than they were last year.

But even in such upbeat times, the jobs can be far from glamorous. For instance, Rachel D. Gunderson is busy making sure there is enough dirt on the shelves of Target stores. After graduating from the University of Wisconsin, she landed a job ordering potting soil for the chain.

Linda C. Roman, of the University of Florida, has signed on at Kraft Foods to improve the packaging for cottage cheese and sour cream.

In fact, many new graduates are fast learning a lesson that their predecessors have had to accept over the decades: they have landed at the bottom of the workaday ladder, with plenty of dues to pay before they step up to the next rung.

And for a growing number of graduates, that ladder isn't even the one

that they — or their long-suffering parents — originally had in mind. For them, it is not always clear why an expensive education was needed.

"None of my friends ever told me about the car-washing part," said Julie A. Schenk, 22, who turned down two other offers to work as a management trainee at Enterprise Rent-A-Car after graduating in December from the University of Dayton.

Ms. Schenk, whose major was communications management, isn't the only one washing cars — 5,000 members of the Class of 1997 are expected to sign up with Enterprise, where cleaning is just one of the dues-paying chores.

Others have taken similar training jobs at department store chains, where they wait on customers. That can leave some parents horrified that their children don't have more to show for all the financial sacrifices.

"It is like sticker shock," said Kevin J. Nutter, the career services director at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. The problem for people in this group isn't that they won't find work, "but that they may not find what they think is good work," Mr. Nutter said.

That is because the number of service-sector jobs has grown as the number of management positions has shrunk, he said. At the same time, so many people are now graduating from college that a degree no longer carries the cachet that it did even a generation ago.

If the experience of recent graduating classes is any guide, many in this year's crop will quickly grow dissatisfied. Members of the Class of 1994 at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for example, were asked a year after they graduated whether their college training was being put to good use.

"Almost 40 percent considered themselves underemployed," nearly double the percentage of recent years, said David S. Bechtel, director of the university's career services center.

But there is little complaining so far from the new graduates. "I had a lot of friends who were working for Enterprise, and they all spoke highly of it," said Ms. Schenk, who said she was not disappointed in her job, despite being surprised by some of her duties.

Others who have crossed over to the working world in recent months are also making do or even flourishing.

Following are tales from the trenches that offer hope and guidance to those just now trading in their diplomas, caps and gowns for briefcases and business suits.

## Rental Clerks

## Joining a Fraternity With 12-Hour Days

Few parents who squirrel away money for years to pay college bills picture their children hanging up a hard-won diploma behind a rental car counter, but about 10,000 moms and dads will watch it happen this year.

Indeed, Enterprise Rent-A-Car is probably hiring more members of this year's graduating class than any other company. The 5,000 graduates scheduled to join Enterprise will be paid \$22,000 to \$30,000, depending on where they live, and all will start out behind the counters of the company's 3,000 branches around the country.

Most graduates who join Enterprise — along with their parents — must first get over the idea of working for a car rental company.

"Recruiting is tough," said Andrew C. Taylor, president and chief executive of Enterprise, based in St. Louis. Some of those who accept jobs have a hard time breaking the news to their families.

Still, satisfied Enterprise hires said they found the jobs refreshing because the company is so entrepreneurial, offering responsibility and a chance to move up quickly.

Mr. Taylor's company tends to hire men and women who are a lot like him — friendly, clean-cut and active at college in fraternities or sororities or team sports. Oh, and they must not be too proud to clean

cars from time to time, either.

"The management of this business started behind a rent-a-car counter," Mr. Taylor said, telling how he recently pitched in to vacuum a car during a visit to a busy Enterprise branch.

Consider William D. Lucy, 25, who was a member of Delta Chi and played intramural volleyball and flag football at Southwest Missouri State University in Springfield. He graduated last year with a 3.2 grade-point average, with a major in marketing and a minor in management.

"I did not go to college thinking I wanted to rent cars," Mr. Lucy acknowledged. Instead, "I saw myself going into business."

The affable Mr. Lucy, who likes to grasp your shoulder when he shakes your hand, had several sales jobs to choose from, but Enterprise looked the best to him. Since starting in March in St. Louis, Mr. Lucy has been working 12-hour days, what passes for normal at Enterprise, starting at 7:15 each morning. He pins a gold name tag — just plain "Bill" — on his gray suit and greets customers as they walk in the door.

He rents cars during the morning and evening rushes — including driving to pick up customers at their homes or offices, Enterprise's trademark service touch. In between, he calls body shops on behalf of renters whose cars were crumpled in accidents. When the mechanics take longer than promised, he calls the renters' insurance companies to arrange for extensions of Enterprise rentals. Once a week, Mr. Lucy spends part of the day delivering pizza or doughnuts to mechanics at local offices, trying to win business for Enterprise with his company's equivalent of taking a client to lunch.

Now, Mr. Lucy sees himself as the businessman he always wanted to be. "I'm wearing a suit every day," he said with a proud smile.

About 25 percent of Enterprise's trainees will grow dissatisfied and leave the company within six months. Most of those who remain will have a chance to apply for a promotion within a year. Those who make the grade get raises, are named assistant managers and have their salaries tied to the performance of their branches.

If Mr. Lucy does well, he could turn out like Cory A. Phillips, 26, a 1992 graduate of Columbia College in Columbia, Mo., who joined Enterprise 14 months ago and has already been promoted twice.

"If you prove yourself, you don't have to worry about spending two years before you become a manager," said Mr. Phillips, now a branch manager in St. Louis. The training means that all managers learn the business from the bottom up and have a financial interest in seeing it succeed, he said.

The strategy seems to have worked: Enterprise now has 31,200 domestic employees but just 1,000 at its corporate headquarters, with 700 of those responsible for keeping the company's computer network up and running. The privately held company has grown 25 percent a year for 11 years, and now has the largest fleet in the rental car business. It avoids airport business, concentrating instead on the so-called replacement niche, providing rentals for customers whose cars are being repaired or who just need an extra set of wheels for a while.

## Packaging Developer

## Trading the Stage For Live Culture

Linda C. Roman started her college career as a theater major who made ends meet by working as a waitress. "Every once in a while I see someone on TV I waited tables with," she said.

But Ms. Roman, too, has left waiting behind for a full-time job in culture — in "live cultures," that is, the kind that produce sour cream, cottage cheese and chip dips.

After changing her major to chemical engineering, Ms. Roman was offered a job in Glenview, Ill., at Kraft Foods, which is owned by Philip Mor-



Rebecca Johnson, a recent University of Michigan graduate.

ris and is the country's largest packaged-food company. She helps develop the packaging for 126 varieties of Kraft products, chief among them Breakstone's sour cream, Light 'n Lively cottage cheese and Kraft creamy onion dip.

Kraft plans to hire 85 new graduates like Ms. Roman this year to help sell more Jell-O, Stove Top Stuffing, Maxwell House coffee, Kool-Aid, Toblerone chocolate bars and Cheez Whiz spread, paying salaries of \$21,000 to \$42,000. Thousands of similar entry-level jobs will be filled at companies like General Mills, Nabisco and Frito-Lay; Procter & Gamble will hire more than 700.

When Ms. Roman, 31, graduated last August from the University of Florida in Gainesville with a grade-point average of 3.75, she had long since sewn up the job at Kraft; its offer was one of five that came her way. So in the weeks after graduation, she took the time to portray the Wicked Witch in a children's play before moving to the Chicago suburbs last September to begin at Kraft.

There, she works in her cubicle or in a lab, and has so far visited five of the six factories where her sour creams, dips and cottage cheeses are made, making sure the plastic tubs and boxes work properly and helping to develop better packaging for future products. In the lab, she measures and tests the packages, checking, for instance, that when a customer opens a lid, it peels off smoothly and doesn't tear. "I love the consumer end," she said.

She didn't expect to. Ms. Roman recalls her negative reaction when she came upon Kraft at a college recruiting fair. "When I first saw Kraft, I didn't want to work for them," she said. She thought that serious chemical engineers worked for oil and chemical corporations, she said, not a company best known for macaroni and cheese.

Kraft's competitors face similar hurdles. A glossy brochure distributed by Procter & Gamble at recruitment fairs shows young employees standing proudly next to their wares: Metamucil, Sure deodorant and Charmin toilet paper.

Still, one irresistible force lured plenty of candidates to the Kraft recruiting booth on campus. "They had free food," Ms. Roman said with a shrug. After a summer internship in which she helped develop apple-cinnamon-flavored cream cheese, she discovered that she liked applying what she learned in the classroom to the real world of supermarket shelves.

Being an actress might be more glamorous, but her father, Kenneth Roman, said he used to worry about her plans to make a living on stage. "Two out of a thousand make it," he said.

Now, Mr. Roman says he feels his daughter has a secure future. "I really had no idea that she would go into engineering," Mr. Roman said. "I feel very proud."

Indeed, his daughter is among those that Kraft found through its college recruitment program. Kraft focuses its recruiting efforts on a short list of large colleges and universities where it previously had success: Ohio State, Wisconsin, Penn State, Purdue, Howard, Florida and Michigan State, along with Illinois and Northwestern — schools that are relatively near its headquarters in Northfield, Ill.

Kraft weeds out some students in short, on-campus interviews, then brings the rest to Chicago for further screening. Students check into a hotel the night before their interview to find duffel bags full of — what else? — Kraft food. With the economy booming, recruiters try to decide quickly whom to hire.

"If you wait to make an offer," said Karen Y. Vaughn, a senior human resources manager at Kraft, "the good students are gone."

## Merchandise Analysts

## From Shirt Buying To Dirt Buying

Deep inside a building in downtown Minneapolis, past the rows of cubicles watched over by a giant Winnie the Pooh and dozens of other stuffed animals, beyond the spot where the furry animals give way to plants lining the offices, is the desk of Rachel D. Gunderson, 22.

Ms. Gunderson, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, is one of the newest merchandise analysts at the headquarters of Target, the discount-store chain.

"I'm in charge of soil," Ms. Gunderson said. As in potting soil. Target sells about 20 different bags, and it falls on Ms. Gunderson to make sure there is enough on the shelves of the chain's 750 stores nationwide.

Buying dirt for Target is typical of the entry-level responsibilities that thousands of this year's graduates will soon assume. The Dayton Hudson Corporation, based in Minneapolis, owns Target, Mervyn's and three department store chains: Dayton's, Hudson's and Marshall Field's. The company plans to hire 1,150 graduates this year at starting pay of \$30,000 to \$34,000. Dayton Hudson's competitors — including the May Department Stores, Neiman Marcus, J. C. Penney, Kmart and Federated Department Stores — together hire thousands more.

Ms. Gunderson, who graduated with a 3.0 grade-point average in December, started her job in mid-April. A journalism major who specialized in marketing and had a minor in business, she turned down an offer from Andersen Consulting and instead took this 8-to-5 job, which came with 12 weeks of training.

Ms. Gunderson inherited the potting-soil responsibilities from her designated mentor. She is learning how to send electronic orders to Target's suppliers, how to use spreadsheets to show sales histories and how to project how many bags of dirt Target will need on hand when an ad for potting soil appears.

Jacqueline T. Punch, central human resources director for Dayton Hudson, said competition for high-quality graduates was fierce. "There is definitely a sense that they can be very selective," Ms. Punch said. "The last two years it has really become more difficult."

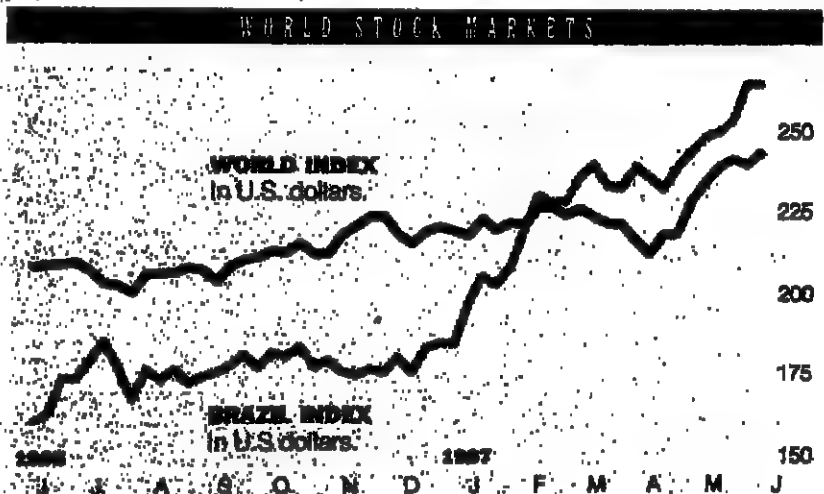
Still, Dayton Hudson hires only 5 to 7 percent of the students it talks to, so the competition goes both ways.

The entry-level merchandising jobs go fast. "This job is like the most sought-after position" at the Carlson School of Management of the University of Minnesota, said another new Target merchandise analyst, Douglas M. Fischer, 23.

After graduating in March with an accounting major and a 3.0 grade-point average, Mr. Fischer was put in charge of buying stationery at Target. His best day so far came when he pushed a button on his computer to order \$350,000 worth of paper and envelopes.

Across the street, Rebecca E. Johnson, 23, who graduated from the University of Michigan with an art history degree and a 3.4 grade-point average, is a merchant trainee for Dayton's. Her job is to help select the men's shirts and ties for the department store chain.

By the time Ms. Johnson, Ms. Gunderson and Mr. Fischer hand their shirt buying, dirt-buying and stationery-buying responsibilities to the graduates of 1998, they could be well on their way to solid futures at Dayton Hudson. Within five years, successful new hires earn \$45,000 to \$70,000 as full-fledged buyers, Ms. Punch said.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Index, a measure of stock market performance. The FT index is compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS				IN LOCAL CURR.			
	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	YTD % Chg.	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	YTD % Chg.
Australia	231.53	-0.7	25	4.3	19	3.80	202.74	9.1
Austria	195.41	0.4	21	2.9	22	1.89	175.57	15.5
Belgium	249.86	0.5	20	9.7	11	3.26	219.73	23.2
Brazil	289.53	0.0	23	42.1	1	1.35	532.09	48.7
Britain	297.79	-0.2	24	5.2	17	3.88	271.30	10.6
Canada	209.18	1.8	10	10.2	9	1.88	209.67	11.3
Denmark	382.58	0.6	18	8.7	12	1.48	342.51	21.3
Finland	289.57	0.8	16	9.7	10	1.65	293.63	23.6
France	222.59	3.9	1	4.0	20	2.78	203.74	16.7
Germany	213.79	2.5	7	12.5	8	1.47	192.16	26.2
Hong Kong	521.65	0.8	14	2.9	23	2.91	518.81	3.0
Indonesia	241.13	-0.8	26	5.7	15	1.59	359.53	8.7
Ireland	344.11	0.8	15	4.6	18	2.99	326.32	19.2
Italy	88.04	0.7	17	5.5	16	2.24	111.99	3.1
Japan	133.87	2.7	6	3.7	21	0.81	97.62	18.1
Malaysia	537.73	0.6	19	-10.9	26	1.32	520.08	-11.4
Mexico	1,478.22	3.7	2	21.2	3	1.16	12,920.78	23.1
Netherlands	378.69	2.5	8	12.7	7	2.32	338.12	26.7
New Zealand	91.38	0.8	13	-0.4	24	4.08	70.53	2.3
Norway	313.29	0.9	12	6.0	14	2.02	304.79	19.0
Philippines	165.17	-4.0	27	-18.9	27	0.86	217.22	-18.6
Singapore	393.34	0.3	22	-6.3	25	1.17	259.05	-4.3
South Africa	362.37	3.3	4	13.8	6	2.45	355.10	9.1
Spain	255.40	3.6	3	16.2	4	2.31	282.67	30.6
Sweden	455.42	2.0	9	7.9	13	1.98	525.22	23.2
Switzerland	296.09	2.8	5	24.1	2	1.26	268.30	34.1
Thailand	61.63	-5.9	28	-35.7	28	5.44	57.45	-39.7
United States	347.58	1.2	11	15.2	5	1.76	347.58	15.2

COMPOSITE INDICES			
Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	YTD % Chg.
Europe	261.49	1.5	9.1
Pacific Basin	152.42	2.1	2.5
Europe/Pacific	197.94	1.8	6.1
World	247.90	1.5	10.6

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1997 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

EXCHANGE RATES			
Exchange rate	Friday	Friday	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	114.60	116.22	-1.39
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.7258	1.7063	+1.14
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3181	1.3770	+0.44
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6316	1.6410	-0.57

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

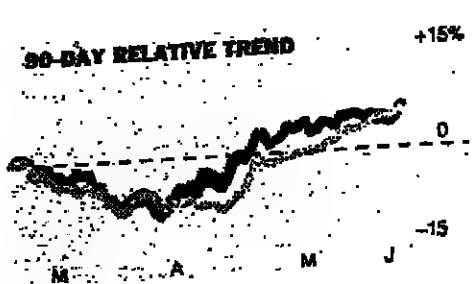
## June 2-6: Dow Industrials Surpass 7,400 as Bonds Rally

DOMESTIC EQUITIES		
Broad market	Up 1.15%	858.01
S. & P. 500 index	Up 1.43%	7,435.78
Blue chips	Up 1.68%	387.14
Dow 30 Industrials	Up 1.68%	387.14
Small capitalization	Up 1.68%	387.14
Russell 2000 index	Up 1.68%	387.14

DOMESTIC BONDS		
Treasuries	Up 0.96%	198.28
Ryan Labs. Total Return	Up 0.88%	118.22
Municipals	Up 1.07%	870.74
Bond Buyer index	Up 1.07%	870.74
Corporates	Up 1.07%	870.74
Merrill Lynch Master Index	Up 1.07%	870.74

AROUND THE WORLD		
European stocks	Up 1.51%	261.49
F.T.-Actuaries Europe	Up 1.51%	261.49
Asian stocks	Up 2.06%	152.42
F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	Up 2.06%	152.42
Gold	Up 0.26%	\$345.70
New York cash price	Up 0.26%	\$345.70

Foreign indexes are given in dollar terms

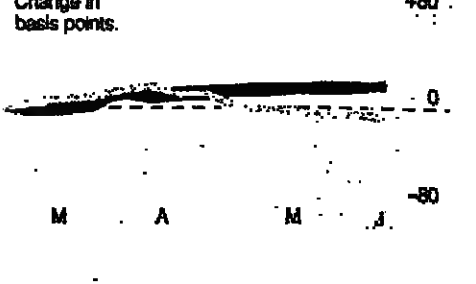
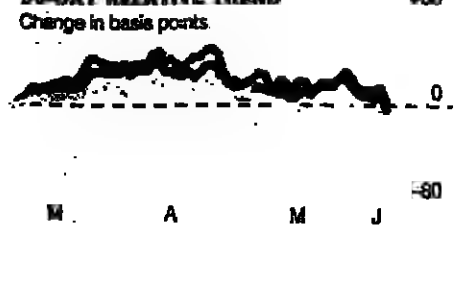


## YIELDS

BONDS		
Long bonds	Down 6.77%	6.77%
30-year Treasuries	Down 14 basis pts.	6.77%
Notes	Down 6.08%	6.08%
2-year Treasuries	Down 12 basis pts.	6.08%
Municipals	Down 5.67%	5.67%
Bond Buyer index	Down 7 basis pts.	5.67%

OTHER INVESTMENTS		
Money market funds	Up 5.02%	5.02%
Taxable average	Up 3 basis pts.	5.02%
Bank C.D.'s	Up 5.23%	5.23%
1-year small savers	Up 5.23%	5.23%
Stocks	Up 1.50%	1.50%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Down 2 b.p.	1.50%

100 basis points = 1 percentage point





# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## A Poor Deal for the Tongass

The anti-conservationist wing of the Republican Party has used every legislative tactic in the book to test the Clinton Administration's resolve on environmental issues. With a few exceptions, the Administration has stood up to the test, resisting Congressional efforts to weaken environmental statutes and commercialize the public lands. Now comes a new challenge, not from Congress but from the Forest Service, a branch of the Agriculture Department that controls the annual "harvest" in the national forests. Over the years, it has done pretty much what it wanted regardless of who occupied the White House.

The service recently issued the broad outlines of its long-awaited land management plan for the Tongass National Forest in southeastern Alaska. The plan is not reassuring. It calls for too much logging in a forest that has already been heavily cut and, worse, would threaten watersheds vital to the Tongass's biological future and to the livelihoods of commercial fishermen.

The Tongass is of almost talismanic importance to environmentalists. Its 17 million acres are rich in spruce, hemlock and cedar, contain the largest remaining stands of old-growth trees in the United States and provide habitat for grizzly bears, bald eagles, countless salmon and a range of other rare species. For different reasons, the Tongass is important to Alaska's Congressional delegation. The forest has provided jobs for thousands of loggers and sawmill workers in an otherwise depressed region. The number of jobs is now well below historic highs, and Alaska's politicians would like a much higher harvest than the new plan proposes. The stage is thus set for a nasty political and bureaucratic battle that the White House may have to resolve.

Under the 10-year plan, loggers could harvest up to 287 million board feet of timber every year. While only half the old limit, it is more than double

the amount actually logged last year. But even more troublesome than the raw numbers is the service's apparent willingness to open up untouched stands of old-growth forest in watershed areas that nourish streams and rivers.

The agency says the plan will preserve 84 percent of the remaining old-growth timber over the next century, while providing other protections like buffer zones along river mouths and beaches. These are laudable gestures from an agency that has traditionally been far more interested in harvesting trees than in protecting them. But nearly a half-million old-growth acres would be left unprotected. Some of this could be logged without lasting damage. Other areas, including many of the forest's still-pristine watersheds, cannot be logged without damaging the biological heart of what is left of the original Tongass. The plan will almost surely be a bad deal for taxpayers as well. Between 1992 and 1994, according to the General Accounting Office, the Forest Service shelled out far more for expenses like construction of logging roads than it received by auctioning the trees to logging companies.

Devised by the Forest Service's regional office in Alaska, the plan will now undergo a long review process that ends with the Secretary of Agriculture, Dan Glickman. Having made much of its previous efforts to save the Tongass from threats in Congress, the White House has an obligation to conduct its own review and to push Mr. Glickman in the right direction.

The challenge is to find a way to provide jobs for a relatively small number of loggers without ruining the fish, the wildlife and other natural and recreational values that, over time, would create more sustainable jobs than logging would. The Government has never located that point of equilibrium, largely because the Forest Service never really wanted to. Its new plan will slow the ruinous clear-cutting of the past. But it still misses the mark.

## The House Ethics Moratorium

In January, after partisan haggling dragged out the investigation and eventual reprimand of Speaker Newt Gingrich, the House decided to take a breather. The chamber declared a moratorium on the filing of new ethics complaints and formed a bipartisan task force to look at overhauling the troubled workings of the House ethics committee.

This was not entirely a bad idea. Reform clearly is needed. But the moratorium has now dragged on for six months, and serious ethics complaints against two powerful Republicans — Tom DeLay, the majority whip, and Bud Shuster, the Transportation Committee chairman — have been left festering while a panel led by Bob Livingston, a Republican, and Benjamin Cardin, a Democrat, considers a reform package.

The latest rumblings from the secret deliberations have raised concerns that the panel may be preparing to seek quick House action on a defective plan. The task force seems not to have absorbed the main lesson of the Gingrich case, which is the value of using independent fact-finders to investigate complaints as a way to lessen the partisan logjams and the political and personal pressures members face when judging their peers. The final

proposal is not expected to tackle this central issue.

On the plus side, the task force reportedly wants to scrap the system that forces outside groups seeking to file an ethics complaint to first obtain formal letters from three House members declining to file it. But the price sounds too steep. Such groups would reportedly no longer be able to base formal complaints on news accounts of possible ethics violations. Yet nearly every major ethics investigation has stemmed from information developed through the work of investigative journalists. The Senate, by contrast, allows citizens to directly file complaints based on news stories.

Common Cause worries that the proposal would grant too much authority to the ethics committee's chairman and ranking members and raise too high the standard of proof to be met before the ethics committee pursues an investigation.

There is a chance that the plan will be brought to the floor for hasty approval, without giving the public or members a chance to fully analyze the details. That would be a mistake. The integrity and credibility of the House require an open debate of the proposal and rejection of any changes that might undermine effective ethics enforcement.

### Editorial Notebook

## Fear and Immobility in Albany

There is something about New York's Legislature that trivializes everything it touches. Mario Cuomo, you may recall, claimed he could not run for President of the United States because State Senator Ralph Marino of Muttontown would not agree on a budget. Now we have Gov. George Pataki, bearer of good voter approval ratings, held captive to State Senator Joseph Bruno of Rensselaer County and his theories on rent decontrol.

Mr. Bruno announced in February that unless the Democratic Assembly agreed to phase the rent laws out quickly, he was prepared to let them expire on June 15. Everyone immediately understood that the Legislature was not going to do a thing until summer. In Albany, a deadline is not the very last minute at which something can be done. It is the very first moment at which negotiations can begin. "Each side has strong vested groups they have made a commitment to. If someone compromises prior to that date, it seems like they're selling out their constituents," said Vito Lopez, the chairman of the Assembly Housing Committee.

In an attempt to get things moving, Governor Pataki jumped in with his own compromise plan, in which apartments would be decontrolled as they became vacant. He received no thanks whatsoever for his trouble. Despite their tough talk in favor of Mr. Bruno's plan, the landlords had secretly been willing to settle for vacancy decontrol all along. But they didn't want it dropped on the table until the last minute, when it would look like a moderate alternative. Once Mr. Pataki had made the offer, however, vacancy decontrol quickly became the floor for future negotiations. The irritated landlords murmured darkly (and the tenant advocates hopefully) that when June 15 came, the Governor would cave in and start pressing the Republicans to bail out and settle for whatever modest changes they could get.

"I keep hearing that," admitted Mr. Bruno. "But it's unfair. The Governor is as firm as he can be."

Sheldon Silver, the Democratic Assembly leader, says he will not negotiate on rent laws until the Republicans drop the vacancy decontrol demand. The culture of Albany requires that all issues of importance be

### Lending a Hand, Mr. Pataki Gets Burned

squashed into one great cosmic deal among Mr. Silver, Mr. Bruno and the Governor. Letting the budget pass, for example, would be forfeiting a card in that monster trade-off. So Mr. Silver has allowed the year's business to pile up like so many cars in a rush-hour crash.

Mr. Bruno, whose district does not come within 100 miles of a rent-stabilized apartment, has little to lose in this game. But Mr. Pataki and his political patron, Senator Alfonso D'Amato, run in elections where New York City residents are allowed to vote. The 1.1 million families in rent-regulated apartments are going to bear a grudge if their housing is threatened. The experience of the Federal Government shutdown suggests they will blame the most visible Republicans they can find.

Mr. Bruno has not even gotten around to introducing his own rent bill, although he did issue a press release announcing he was lining up behind most of the Governor's package. "It is the essence of a bill," the Senator said with dignity. Mr. Bruno insists the Senate will pass it this week. But four downstate Republicans seem likely to defect, leaving a bare majority of 32 votes that would make every supporter responsible for the bill's passage. Many of Mr. Bruno's members would just as soon skip the symbolic show of support for what is basically just another one-house bill. (When the Senate Democrats staged their symbolic vote in favor of rent regulation, one member believed to have sympathies in the landlord order called in sick. Senator Efrain Gonzalez of the Bronx claimed he had walking pneumonia and refused to come to his door when the Senate Democratic leaders sent an ambulance to pick him up.)

Mr. Bruno's opposition to rent regulation is a matter of longstanding free-market philosophy, although he is not nearly as disturbed about state intervention in the marketplace when the issue is saving farmland. But a huge surge in Republican campaign contributions from landlord groups may have prompted him to move from lip service to full-scale war. Many hardened observers of New York state politics claim the only way to get the moribund Legislature to move on anything is through money. This year the stasis may be so complete that even money won't change the status quo. GAIL COLLINS

## Tobacco Debate Is Starved for Common Sense

To the Editor:

In the current climate of anti-tobacco hysteria ("Smoked Out," Op-Ed, June 4), certain elements of common sense seem to have been forgotten: (1) The more you shriek and fulminate over tobacco use, the more attractive you make it to teen-agers, as the latest statistics confirm. Smoking has never been so hip, rebellious and cavalier.

(2) Long before Government warnings, it was common knowledge that cigarettes were addictive. Smokers know the risks and choose to smoke regardless.

(3) A third of smokers die a premature death. So what? It's nobody's business but their own. Those who complain about the cost of treating smokers' illnesses should congratulate them for dying young and reducing the Social Security burden.

(4) Don't even think about banning cigarettes. How much more evidence does America need that prohibition doesn't work?

R. L. GRANT  
Tucson, Ariz., June 4, 1997

### Nicotine Isn't Problem

To the Editor:

In "Smoked Out" (Op-Ed, June 4), C. Everett Koop and David Kessler say that prohibition of tobacco won't work, presumably because prohibition of alcohol didn't work. However, the difference is that we can separate the addicting substance, nicotine, from tobacco. You can't do that with alcohol.

Nicotine does not cause cancer, em-

physema, chronic bronchitis or other problems, associated with tobacco use. Nicotine improves memory and alertness, and may be helpful for Alzheimer's disease. It is addicting. But so is methadone. And many people take methadone to maintain their narcotic addiction while leading productive lives.

Our leaders should adopt a strategy that eliminates tobacco products



By Kuperman

for legal sale in this country by the year 2007. Over that time, people who are truly addicted to nicotine can be safely withdrawn from tobacco.

ALEX A. CARDONI  
Storrs, Conn., June 6, 1997  
The writer is an associate professor of pharmacy and psychiatry at the University of Connecticut.

### Premature Death?

To the Editor:

Oh, horsefeathers! In "Smoked Out" (Op-Ed, June 4), C. Everett Koop and David Kessler say: "About 50 million Americans are addicted to nicotine. One-third will die a smoker's death, which means they will die prematurely."

In my view, tobacco doesn't meet the minimal definition of an addictive substance: (1) the substance is a reinforcer — that is, a subject will work (steal, kill) for it; (2) more and more of the substance is needed for the same effect; (3) removal of the substance will cause physical (not mental) symptoms.

Compare this with the headache experienced by coffee drinkers who eliminate caffeine. Bad habit? Yes. Addiction? No. And just what is a premature death? ANNE FENNEL  
Austin, Tex., June 4, 1997

### Notorious Greed

To the Editor:

In the tobacco litigation debate (front page, June 4), there is an overlooked view. More than a small minority of my patients who smoke — and will line up to litigate — expect to continue to use tobacco after a potential monetary settlement. Is this justice and due compensation, or notorious greed? STEFAN P. KRUSZEWSKI, M.D.  
Pottsville, Pa., June 4, 1997

### Military Injustice

To the Editor:

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen should be concerned about criticism that his standards for judging the sexual conduct of his officers are biased (front page, June 6).

If we are going to lose qualified people from the armed forces like First Lieut. Kelly Flinn but keep those like Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, Secretary Cohen can expect that his double standard will drive qualified women and men away from the military. MAUREEN A. O'LEARY  
Astoria, Queens, June 6, 1997

To the Editor:

Re "Cohen Criticized for His Support of a Top General" (front page, June 6): We citizens want commanders in the military who are aggressive and innovative. These characteristics are often correlated with a strong sex drive. Adultery should not be in the military code; rather the offense should be "social behavior damaging to the effectiveness of the service."

This is the big difference between the cases: no service member complained about Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, as one did about First Lieut. Kelly Flinn. WILLIAM M. KAULA  
Los Angeles, June 6, 1997

### Public TV, Branded

To the Editor:

Re your June 5 Arts pages article on public television stations' being tempted to run commercials: I was surprised you did not mention "Masterpiece Theater's" metamorphosis to "Mobil Masterpiece Theater." And is it any wonder my husband refers to the local PBS station, KQED, as KSAAB? JULIE WATERS  
San Francisco, June 5, 1997

### Anti-Global France

To the Editor:

Thomas L. Friedman should know that mocking France because it refuses to bow at the altar of the free market has become predictable (column, June 5). Not everybody believes "globalization" is the only path.

There is something to be said for a country where top executives don't make 1,000 times more than workers at the bottom; where college education is, for the most part, affordable; where a shooting is still so odd it can make national news, and where health care is for everyone.

How nice to live in a country like France, where a vote can still make a difference. Some of us find the idea of living in a "golden straitjacket" generously provided by mega-corporations (for this is who rules the market, not elected officials like Bill Clinton or Tony Blair) utterly terrifying. ELISABETH VINCENTELLI  
New York, June 5, 1997

### From Market to Metric

To the Editor:

Your June 4 Business Day article on Wall Street's move toward dumping fractions in stock quotes is a subliminal expression of the compelling arguments for the United States to convert to the metric system. Let us rid ourselves of those silly fractions (eighths and sixteenths) on our rulers and the unwieldy ounces and pounds on our scales.

Americans need to take the 15 to 20 minutes required to learn the metric system and apply it. Then we will join the rest of the world in simplifying our dealings in the marketplace, the building trades and manufacturing. Maybe this will be the snowball effect we need to get on with metric — a great idea for the millennium. DAVID SPONTING  
Member, Board of Directors  
American National Metric Council  
Middletown, R.I., June 5, 1997

### U.S. Can Look to Korea on Campaign Reform

To the Editor:

As the United States deals with the issue of campaign finance and the ways in which political contributions can influence policy decision-making (news article, June 4), it is instructive to watch a similar process unfolding in South Korea.

South Korea increasingly finds itself in political chaos as a result of election campaign financing questions and related financial scandals. President Kim Young Sam is in a delicate position because his own son, implicated in the scandals, has been indicted. Such an indictment would have been unthinkable in South Korea's recent past, but it is an indication of the democratization taking place in that country.

South Korea appears ready to address the underlying causes of its current political unrest directly. President Kim, with less than a year

remaining in office, is proposing major changes in South Korea's election and banking laws to eliminate the common practice of hiding campaign funds under fictitious names, limit the amount of funds permitted to be expended in campaigns, and provide public financing of elections. If South Korea's National Assembly approves these changes, it will set an example for other countries, including our own. MICHAEL D. BARNES  
Chairman, Center for National Policy  
Washington, June 3, 1997

### The New York Times Company

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# Turning the Tables on the Generals

By Lucian K. Truscott 4th

**N**OTHING has exposed the yawning generation gap in today's military better than the Defense Secretary's William Cohen's pardon of Gen. Joseph Ralston for his adulterous affair with a civilian woman 13 years ago.

In the history of the military since Congress adopted the Uniform Code of Military Justice in 1951, how many

general officers do you think have been prosecuted for adultery? Zero. In the last year alone, how many younger soldiers of lower rank have been prosecuted for adultery? One hundred and sixty-three.

If you check out military bulletin boards on the Internet, you can hear the grumbling in the ranks among lower-ranking men and women with mud on their boots and grease on their hands: The hair splitting and backing and filling that has been used to excuse General Ralston's lapse is not lost on them. What they hear Mr. Cohen saying is that rank is a vacation from the rule of law.

The Defense Secretary's decision flies in the face of the ancient military dictum that while rank may have its privileges, it has even greater responsibilities. A good argument

## Military's war on adultery widens a generation gap.

could be made that senior officers, especially generals and admirals, should be held to a higher and tougher moral standard. But don't expect that argument to win many converts among senior officers anytime soon.

Instead, senior generals in the Pentagon are said to be in a panic over whose adultery will be exposed next. There's a generational issue here. Armies do not usually render to

junior soldiers the kind of power they now have with the sexual complaint hot line set up after the scandals at the Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground.

Anyone in the service, even the lowliest private, can now pick up the phone and whisper, "I saw General So-and-so going into a hotel room down at the Dallas Airport Hilton during that convention last month, and the young woman he was with was definitely not his wife." Anonymous tipsters have stripped away the traditional protections of rank.

There is a profound generational split between young officers who have gone to school, trained and served with women in their units right from the start of their careers, and the senior generals and admirals, for whom the presence of women in uniform is an affront. This divide was forced upon the older officers' midstream in their careers when Congress allowed women into the armed services in 1978.

The split was brought into sharp relief recently when West Point appointed a female lieutenant colonel who is not an alumna to be Master of the Sword — the head of the Office of Physical Education, which is one of the academy's most powerful staff positions.

Cries of outrage went up, mostly from older, higher-ranking graduates: Academy officials couldn't find a qualified male graduate for the job? Are they now going to call it Mistress of the Sword? But to younger graduates, the appointment was no big deal.

When I was a plebe at West Point, the upperclassmen called anyone who dropped out of a reveille run or a training exercise a "girl" (or worse). That sort of denigration doesn't work anymore at West Point or elsewhere in the Army, where the presence of "girls" in the ranks has removed the pejorative connotation of the word.

But at the highest level of the military, it's still the old boys' club that is in command. And the rank-driven double standard exemplified by General Ralston will likely remain in one form or another until the club's members retire and are replaced by the younger men and women who are its victims.

At least for now, though, the old boys who occupy those spacious, sun-filled offices overlooking the Potomac have been reminded that they occupy perhaps the biggest glass house there is. Just watch: In the very near future, there'll be a lot less stone-throwing from the Pentagon.

## Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

# John Glenn Agonistes

**WASHINGTON** After seven months listlessly poking around "the Asian connection," Lee Radek, the Justice Department bureaucrat in charge of what is plausibly called the "Public Integrity" section, has still not asked the State Department to request that China make available Yah Lin (Charlie) Trie to F.B.I. interrogators.

Trie is Bill Clinton's former favorite Little Rock restaurateur, and is now presumed to be in Beijing on his U.S. passport. His heavy contributions to the Clinton campaign enabled him to bring Wang Jun, China's most notorious arms dealer, to a White House meeting with the President.

Justice officials insist that their seeming misfeasance is part of some master investigatory plan. But what of the Senate Government Affairs Committee? That group did ask State to enlist Beijing's aid in making available for questioning the heads of three "para-statal" companies (Government-owned "private" enterprises in China that do business with Trie).

After a month's rumormongering at State, Chairman Fred Thompson induced Secretary Madeleine Albright to ask the Chinese Embassy in Washington to arrange for investigators to interview Wang Jun and two others.

China's official answer: no answer. When our embassy in Beijing then called Wang Jun's para-statal company, the stonewall continued. Then, apparently noting prods in this space for investigators to get after Trie in China, Chinese diplomats volunteered to our State Department "we do not know where Yah Lin Trie is."

That's curious. China can understandably shield Wang, one of its key agents, but it would be undiplomatic for China to help a U.S. citizen like Trie evade U.S. law. Here's an even more curious fact, confirmed every which way: not Justice nor Congress nor State has asked China to help track down Charlie Trie.

Some Democratic senators hope this incredibly lax investigative state of affairs continues. They do not want access to witnesses who might embarrass the White House and the Democratic National Committee.

Evidence of that see-no-evil partisanship comes in an incredible three-page letter, signed last week by ranking committee Democrat John Glenn, objecting to the dispatch overseas of six investigators, including two F.B.I. detailees. Glenn claims \$40,000 would be wasted because few of the specified witnesses were willing to make

appointments with our investigators. The six had better not "try to develop additional leads," went the warning that revealed Democratic dread of investigative success, "and track down additional individuals once the delegation is overseas." How's that for zeal?

When asked about witnesses fleeing, ducking subpoenas or taking the Fifth, Glenn said testily of his Republican colleagues, "That's their problem." Wrong: getting testimony about bribery and espionage is the whole United States Senate's problem.

Despite objections of Democrats,

## Partisan stuff not right stuff.

Thompson sent his team late last week to Hong Kong, Indonesia, Macao and Taiwan. But not China.

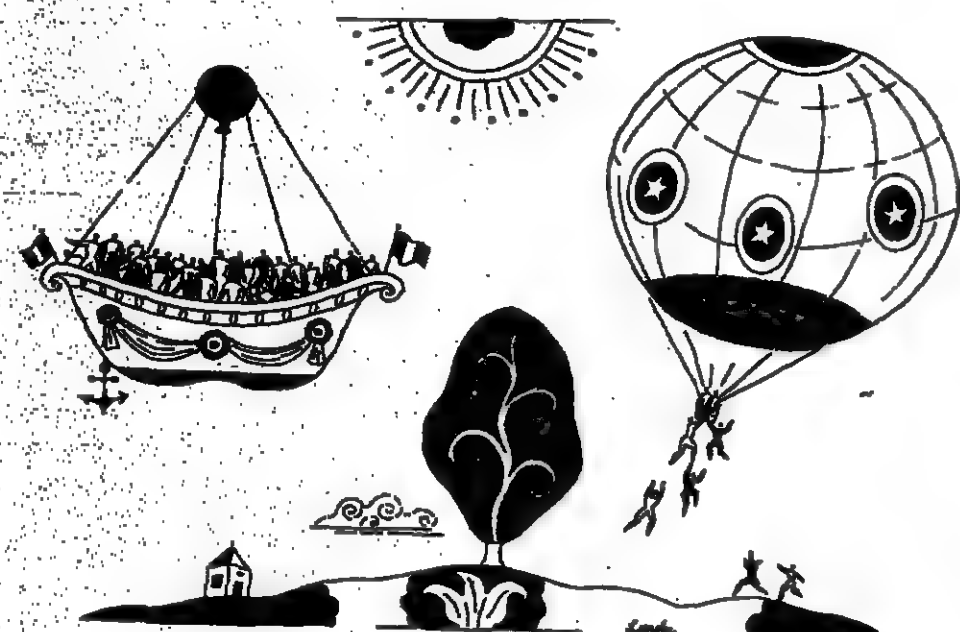
John Glenn's foot-dragging is hard to figure. Our astronaut-Senator is a genuine patriot about to retire. Because this good man is miffed at not getting prompt and full responses from Haley Barbour and the R.N.C., he has allowed a couple of Daschle hatchmen — Len Weiss and Glenn Ivey — to manipulate him into charging wildly that G.O.P. delays "might be viewed in some quarters as obstruction of justice."

That sly stuff is not the right stuff. Glenn will have time to examine likely Republican finance misdeeds, but the national need is to dig deeply into the major scandal at the center of power. He should not mar his exit, after brave and honorable service, by dragging a foot for his party.

Democratic strategy has been to spook Ken Starr, demonize Dan Burton and D'Amatoize Thompson. "I'm afraid these objections," Thompson says of Glenn's uncharacteristic partisanship, "have turned into attempts to obstruct and discredit the committee's work. Now that we're getting into the heart of what we're about, I think a lot of pressure is being applied to Senator Glenn."

Let's hope he resists. I asked Glenn: When the first hearings begin in mid-July, should the dozen witnesses who refuse to testify be called before the Senate to take the Fifth publicly? "Not a bad suggestion to call 'em up," Glenn replied, sounding more like himself. "Might be constructive." □

# Liberty, Equality, Bon Appétit



safe or comfortable.

The French don't seem to have this moralism problem. They are good at managing paradox. Maybe it comes from their form of rather self-indulgent Roman Catholicism, which allows them to confess and continue, and pays little attention to restrictive rules about divorce or contraception, for example, but does seem to take seriously notions of humanity and brotherhood.

And beyond, in spite of, religion, they seem to have the idea that life should be pleasant. Everyone should have five or six weeks of vacation.

Babies stay in the hospital for a week or more to give mother and child a good start. Working mothers have day care. Early retirement for people who work at hard jobs (and those who don't) is supported — despite inconvenient strikes by the people who are asking to quit at age 50 or 55 with generous pensions.

A Jospin supporter was quoted during a campaign rally as saying, "people have a right to a little Utopianism nowadays," meaning they've earned it after the hardships of the Government's feeble attempts at belt-tightening. Those efforts were never convincing, and never explained. Will the French eventually have, as we say, to pay the piper?

Certain things about France may not suit us. A French citizen accepts a certain measure of conformity to achieve social harmony. Diversity is not particularly admired — they attempt to be inclusive by treating each person, whether from Mali or Morocco, as French.

We, in our fashion, can jeer at utopianism, but the French have managed their high-cholesterol utopia rather well up to now, as their superb infrastructure of trains and metros, their Vitruvians and Chateaus, their sumptuous museums and low crime rate attest. We could do well to look at their successes instead of, Protestant nation that we are, gloomily contemplating hell. □

Chirac's conservative coalition in France came when voters were given a choice, often very specific, between an American economic model and conception of society and what seemed the rather old-fashioned lefty social protections people were used to. Their answer was "No" to American-style capitalism, and to the violent, deteriorating societies they think it produces. Is there a message here for us?

One reason we are confused by the paradoxical refusal of the French to

## The French aspire to utopia, and why not?

subscribe to what we have felt to be an inevitable economic model is that we have allowed our economics to be tangled up with our (Judeo-Protestant?) ideas of morality. We are a self-righteous, moralistic nation. It's "right" to work hard. Gain is "good." The idle do not "deserve" handouts. We are never pragmatic, and often adopt social policies that are neither efficient nor humane because, given a choice, we would rather be right than

By Diane Johnson

**T**HE FRENCH paradox used to refer to the way French people eat delicious high-cholesterol food yet stay thin and have fewer heart attacks. While Americans glumly pick at healthful carbs and keep getting fatter. After last Sunday's elections, "French paradox" could refer to French theories of economics. The new Socialist Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, promises to address the future by retaining the indulgent social policies of the "past," and to reduce the deficit by shortening the workweek to 35 hours and raising the minimum wage.

All this drives Americans mad, of course. Remember how people used to mutter about high suicide rates in Sweden's welfare state, puritanically implying cause and effect? Americans are always being told it is inevitable that we move on to the mean, lean, downsized world of the future, with the unfir dropping by the way.

But the defeat of John Major's Government in Britain and Jacques

Diane Johnson, who divides her time between Paris and San Francisco, is the author of "Le Divorce."

## Journal

FRANK RICH

# howdydooty.com

Howdy Dooty and Buffalo Bob were the first guys to invade my living room and sell me products back in the 1950's, when I shared my childhood with television. But they kept their distance. However hard they pushed their sponsor — Buster Brown shoes? Bosco? Cream of Wheat? — they never sought out their young fans off camera for a follow-up sales chat. Had Howdy been as intrusive as the Fuller Brush man, he would have been collared on a morals charge, puppet or not.

Though Howdy and Bob aren't with us anymore, their progeny are — on the Internet, the first new mass medium since TV. But their successors are not treating our children with the same hands-off attitude. The Web is already burgeoning with animated, game-filled, time-consuming sites run entirely by advertisers, in which characters like Ronald McDonald and the Tooth Fairy (at Colgate) carry out one-on-one conversations or inaugurate E-mail exchanges with kids and often collect information about them, sometimes with surreptitious tracking technology. The M&M site offers prizes to lure the young into giving up the E-mail addresses of their friends, too.

Cyberkids — whose numbers are growing exponentially, toward seven million — are "a phenomenally lucrative market poised on the verge of viability." So declares a brochure for Digital Kids '97, a conference in San Francisco last week at which toy companies like Mattel and Hasbro brainstormed with media powerhouses like Nickelodeon, Time Warner and Disney on how to exploit that market to the fullest. Though the

Internet is still in its infancy as an advertising medium, it already has advantages unknown to children's TV of the 50's, let alone the 90's.

As Jeff Chester of the Center for Media Education explains, instead of one commercial reaching millions of kids sitting passively before the tube, there can be an individual "virtual relationship" between a cartoon pitchman and each young target. Any marketer who learns a kid's favorite color or pet or activity can harness sophisticated child psychology and interactive technology to

## Your child's virtual friends.

"prey on children's vulnerabilities" and "manipulate your child in very profound ways."

Mr. Chester and other consumer advocates argue that advertising to children on the Net, especially sites that are all advertising (call them cyberinfomercials), should submit to the same regulation as deceptive TV commercials. For months the White House has been shaping a policy on this and other issues of Internet commerce, including privacy. Ira Magaziner, who's in charge of the effort, shared his thoughts and the latest (16th) draft of that coming policy with me last week. He doesn't dispute the diagnosis of Net ills but, no longer the big-government exponent of his health-care days, argues that technol-

ogy (a V-chip blocking commercials, say) and industry self-regulation should have a crack at correcting them before government steps in.

No one wants Washington's clumsy paws strangling the Web, but the unsavory history of children's TV, much of it involving the same companies now chasing cyberkids, hardly suggests that self-regulation will be a slam-dunk in protecting kids. As Steven D. Stark reminds us in his smart new book, "Glued to the Set," TV's early cheerleaders sounded much like Bill Clinton and Al Gore enthusing about the Internet. An industry ad of the 50's declared: "Tomorrow's children, through the great new medium of Television, will be enrolled in a world university before they leave their cradles." Alas, the faculty turned out to be Annette Funicello and G.I. Joe.

Will Mr. Gore, who has so much political capital invested in the Internet, be part of the problem or the solution? His speech at the private summit for C.E.O.'s held by Bill Gates in Seattle last month fawned over new media moguls much as this Administration has fawned over the Hollywood beneficiaries of its telecommunications act giveaways. Though the Vice President's zeal to wire every classroom by the turn of the century is to be applauded, will computer-oblivious parents turn around to discover that their children are wired not to a world university but to the same corporate sponsors that bankroll our politicians? This is a question that may dog Mr. Gore's Presidential bid in 2000 and haunt our culture long after that. □

## New Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel

In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

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## THE ARTS

## Peter Fonda Discovers a Touch of Henry Fonda

By JAMIE DIAMOND

LOS ANGELES HIS voice shook at first, and he reached for his drink. "Sherry," said Peter Fonda, the man who became an icon of the 1960's as the marijuana-smoking, motorcycle-driving Captain America in "Easy Rider" and the innocent who embraces LSD in the psychedelic film "The Trip." "I just like sherry," he explained. "It does something to my mouth that makes all kinds of things possible there."

In fact, Mr. Fonda, 57, appears to need little help when it comes to talking. His father, Henry Fonda, who died in 1982, may have been a man of few words, but Peter Fonda is a speed-talker. Words, like swarms of bees, surround him. It's as if — in addition to his lanky body and narrow face — he inherited the store of sentences left unsaid by his father, "the silent terror," as Mr. Fonda calls him.

"You don't have to pry anything out of my dad," said Peter Fonda's daughter, the actress Bridget Fonda. "There was a lot of pain there, and you can't expect it to just be gone. He wants to be seen for who he is and is always trying to explain himself."

Mr. Fonda's verbal flourishes are precisely what you don't see in "Ulee's Gold," a film by Victor Nunez ("Ruby in Paradise") that was praised when it appeared at the Sundance Film Festival early this year and will open in theaters on Friday. As Ulysses Jackson, Mr. Fonda plays a dour, antisocial and uncommunicative man who retreats into the world of beekeeping after his wife dies and his son is imprisoned for robbery. He limps through Florida's tupelo marshes, collecting honey and barely acknowledging the two young granddaughters left in his charge. Naturally, problems arise — in the form of two thugs and the children's drug-addicted mother — and change ensues.

"Thank God Nick Nolte turned the part down," said Mr. Fonda, who had come to Los Angeles from his ranch in Montana, where he lives with his second wife, Becky Crockett, whom he married in 1975. He was sitting in a Beverly Hills restaurant dressed in well-worn jeans and an orange T-shirt. "After I finished reading the script, I thought, I'm the only one who can play this role. The problem was I didn't know how to convince Victor, because I'm so exuberant and not at all recalcitrant."

Mr. Fonda ended up offering to use his frequent-flier miles to travel to Hollywood to meet with Mr. Nunez, who did, indeed, need some persuading.

"I was aware of Peter's reputation as the Candide," said Mr. Nunez. "In most of his screen performances, he's played the fool. I think you can respond to a tightlipped father by being a clown, and I think Peter did that. But I was looking for a quieter place in him."

For Mr. Fonda, discovering how to play Ulee Jackson was easy. "For so many years I was Henry Fonda's son, which is a biological fact, not an identity," he said. "Still, I tried my best to be Henry Fonda's son, not knowing in the slightest who in the hell he was, because he was so withdrawn."

He gave a tight smile. "So where did I get that stuff in the well for 'Ulee's Gold'?" he asked. "Hah!"

It may be only in Hollywood (or according only to Hollywood's system of rendering psychological truths) that a man can come to terms with a remote and inexpressive father by playing a remote and inexpressive father in a movie.

"The first time I read with Peter, he had long hair in a ponytail and a Harley-Davidson sweatshirt," said Christine Dunford, who portrays Mr. Fonda's daughter-in-law in "Ulee's Gold." "But when we went to work in Florida, he'd cut all his hair off, and he was wearing wire-rimmed glasses, and I kept thinking, he's embracing his adulthood."

Mr. Nunez put it this way: "I think it was therapeutic for Peter to play a character like his father. His ability to understand that person from the inside, as well as to understand him from the receiving end, is part of Mr. Fonda's growing up."

As for his being a father, Mr. Fonda would rather have erred on the side of too much openness. "I'm a child myself, and I'm very close to my children," he said.

Whether he has grown up or not, his own father remains an emotional reference point. When he was asked an all-important question about "Ulee's Gold" — how did he handle the bees barehanded? — Mr. Fonda replied: "You have to be very calm. I'm not out of control at all with my life or body. It's just that my father thought I was."

The son of Henry and the younger brother of Jane, Mr. Fonda experienced a difficult childhood. Shuttled between boarding schools, he was 10 years old when his mother, Frances Seymour Brokaw, committed suicide in a mental hospital. Less than a year later, while his father was honeymooning in Europe with his third wife, Susan Blanchard, Peter shot himself in the stomach with a .22-caliber pistol.

"My parents," Mr. Fonda began, then paused to correct himself. "No, I only had one. The people who claimed ownership and control over my life all wondered, did I do that for attention? But you shoot yourself in your hand or foot if you want attention, not the way I did it! That was an accident. Other people put a suicide spin on it. But I didn't know my mother had committed suicide. I thought she had died of a heart attack."

After moving to Omaha and living with his aunt (Henry's sister) and his uncle, he enrolled at the University of Omaha and began to appear in plays. When he was 21, he won an award from the New York Drama Critics' Circle for "Blood, Sweat and Stanley Poole," his first Broadway role, and married Susan Brewer, the stepdaughter of Noah Dietrich, the right-hand man to Howard Hughes. By the time he was 26, Mr. Fonda was the father of two children, Bridget and Justin, and an outspoken believer in the use of LSD.

In his first couple of films,

## A longtime rebel comes to terms with his remote and inexpressive father.

"Tammy and the Doctor" (1963) and "Lilith" (1964), he had played a sort of male ingénue, to little effect. It wasn't until he hooked up with American International Pictures to make motorcycle films for the drive-in set that Mr. Fonda hit his stride, atop a Harley-Davidson, in dark glasses and a leather jacket. After "The Wild Angels" and "The Trip," which was written by a young actor named Jack Nicholson, Mr. Fonda conceived of the idea for "Easy Rider." It was to be a modern western: two freedom-loving cats who didn't care where they were going as long as they were going there on Harleys.

Mr. Fonda produced and helped write "Easy Rider" and starred in it with Mr. Nicholson and Dennis Hopper, who directed. Today he says that it became what Time magazine called "one of the 10 most important motion picture events of the decade" primarily because of a fluke of timing. "In 1968, we had our own music, art, language and clothing, but we didn't have our own movie," he explained. "I wish I was so smart that I said: 'Oh, I know! We need to make a movie because we don't have one.' But it didn't happen like that."

However it happened, Mr. Fonda



Peter Fonda as the dour father figure Ulysses Jackson in Victor Nunez's new film "Ulee's Gold" — The actor is finally embracing adulthood.

would never hit the Zeitgeist with such force again. He worked in movies sporadically over the years, made commercials for motorcycles in Japan, where he is known as Peter Honda, and directed several modest films: "The Hired Hand," "Idaho Transfer" and "Wanda Nevada," the only film in which he appeared with his father.

"I'm not chasing fame," he said. "I was born famous. If I were digging ditches today, the guys at the other end of the ditch would say: 'You know who that is? That's Jane Fonda's brother.' Or Henry Fonda's son. No matter what, I'll never escape that."

Parents usually appear larger than life to their young children, but Henry Fonda was larger than life to the American public. What's more, he was better than life, known for playing idealized figures like Tom Joad in "The Grapes of Wrath" and Abraham Lincoln. As a child, was Peter aware of his father's image?

Mr. Fonda sidestepped the question by telling a story. When he was about 4, he was taken to one of his father's films, "Chad Hanna," when his father was away at war. "But in the theater," he said, "I found out that Daddy wasn't fighting in the Pacific. He'd run away to the circus with someone named Linda Darnell. And, uh oh, there he was, walking into the lion's cage and not realizing the lion was still in the cage."

Peter ran up to the screen and pounded on it, screaming, to warn his father. "My mother had to take me out to the lobby to explain that that really wasn't my father but someone named Chad Hanna. And then, when we got home, I went around the house looking at all the photographs, wondering how in the world Chad got into all of them."

While he and Jane spent months apart at different boarding schools, when they were together, they were close, Mr. Fonda said. "She always let me tag along with her like a little puppy when we escaped the house and the silent terror," Mr. Fonda

recalled. "We weren't abandoned in a Dumpster, but we were abandoned."

Eventually, in an effort to understand his complex history, Mr. Fonda took a variety of mind-altering substances and made no bones about taking them. In 1970, he described to Playboy magazine the insight he gained on an LSD trip in

which he thought he was a plastic wrapper on a bologna package. Does he still feel that experimenting with LSD was useful?

"For me," he said, "it solved a great deal. However I didn't take it and go out running through the city looking at lights. I was very circumspect and lay down on a couch."

"Luckily," he added, "I don't have

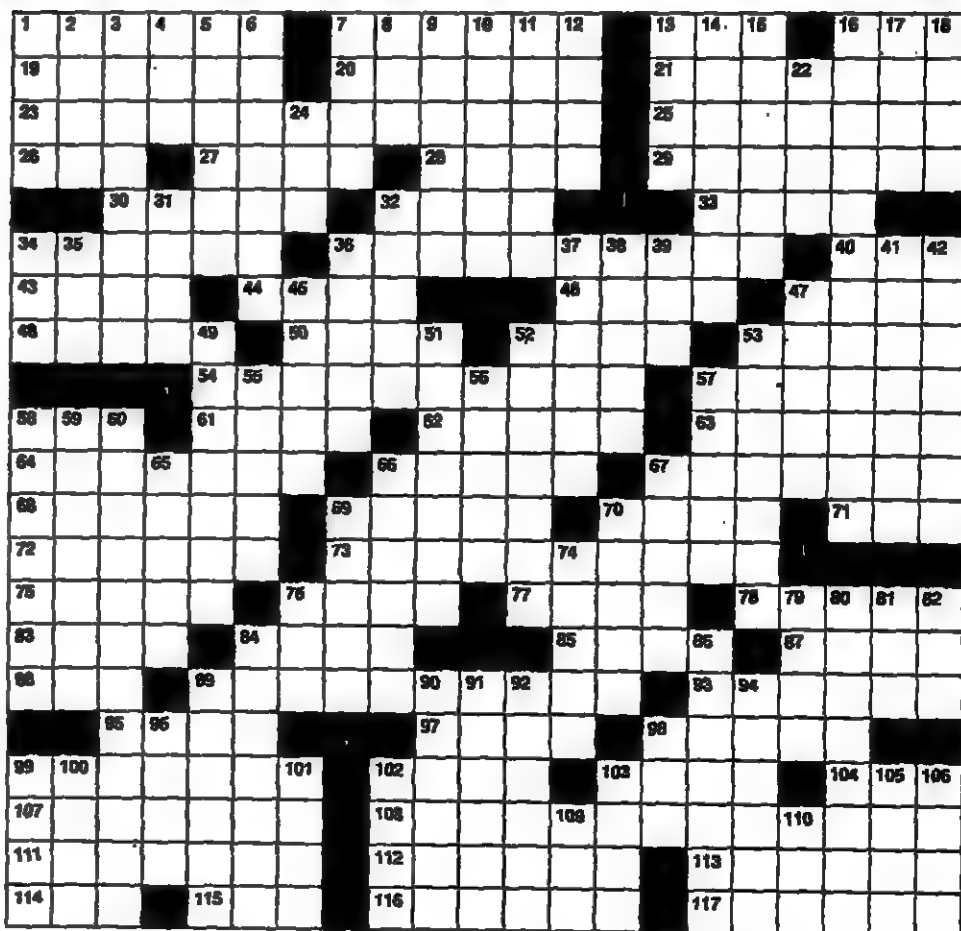
an addictive character, and nothing except pot stayed with me. Pot calmed me down, which was what I needed to have happen in my life." Where Mr. Fonda is now, after starring in "Ulee's Gold," said his daughter, is happy. "I have to remember to tell him," she said. "Now store this up...and don't go postpartum on me."

## ET TOO

BY RICHARD SILVESTRI / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

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Peter Fonda in the 1969 film "Easy Rider," which he helped write — A collision with the Zeitgeist.





Scene of the crime: Murder victim Alex Dubitsky gunned down in broad daylight at an Independence Square cafe.

(Alon Ron Israel Sun)

## Dead end for Netanyahu?

Gangland crime in the city is bad, but no worse than some other places in the country, Larry Derfner reports

The blowing up of his car in August 1993, says Netanyahu Mayor Zvi Pileg, was presumably the work of local criminal gangs. Since it happened when the car was empty, parked outside his home at 3 a.m., he reasons, the explosion was clearly meant as a "signal" not a real attempt to kill him. He never got any threatening letters, but assumes he was targeted because he is "committed to law and order."

Despite this bracing personal encounter with Netanyahu, organized crime, Pileg insists, is not as bad as the work of local criminal gangs. Since it happened when the car was empty, parked outside his home at 3 a.m., he reasons, the explosion was clearly meant as a "signal" not a real attempt to kill him. He never got any threatening letters, but assumes he was targeted because he is "committed to law and order."

The degree of gang murders, arson, extortion and the like is no worse in Netanyahu than in Rishon LeZion, Haifa or Tel Aviv, the mayor says. No worse than in Beersheba or Ramat, local police officials add. Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani agrees.

But do the mayors of other cities get their cars blown up? "It happened to Chich [former Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat], to Meir Doron [Tel Aviv Municipality's former director-general], and to the mayor of Gan Shmuel, Yermi Olmert," Pileg said in an interview last Tuesday.

That same day, Sa'ar Azulai, a reputed Paredes Katz gangster, was blown up in his car in Bnei Brak. Police have said Azulai's murder came against the same background as Dubitsky's — the multi-front war over control of illegal gambling in Israel.

The Dubitsky murder threw the spotlight on Netanyahu for a few reasons. For one, it was so brazen: Dubitsky was sitting at an outdoor restaurant in the city's main public area, Independence Square, in the middle of the afternoon, next to other diners and in clear view of passersby, when a man rode up on a motorcycle, got off and shot him twice in the head. (The killer was

chased through traffic by police, but escaped.)

For another, Dubitsky was the third member of his family to be murdered in the crime war: his wife, Paulina Cohen-Dubitsky, was shot to death in March, and his son, Shlomi Cohen, was killed the same way a year earlier. (Those two killings apparently were "mistakes"; the target both times had been Alex Dubitsky. The alleged twice-failed assassin, Shalom "Shari" Abutbul, was murdered in Paris a month ago, reportedly because his Netanyahu employers felt his sloppiness had damaged their reputation.)

Finally, Dubitsky's murder was, according to different calculations, the fifth or seventh Netanyahu gambling war killing in the last one to one-and-a-half years, and the 11th, 12th or 13th local murder that grew out of some criminal dispute or other during the same period.

"They say it's no worse in Netanyahu than in other places? Count the corpses," says Labor MK Ephraim Oshaya, a Netanyahu resident who, like Pileg, blames the police for not doing enough to keep the city safe.

In defense of the police's performance, a local police official noted that a month ago, officers confiscated about 60 illegal slot machines at the dozens of so-called gambling parlors in Independence Square, the outdoor produce market and industrial zone. "The gambling is still going on, though," he acknowledged.

SINCE Dubitsky's murder, the Israel Police has moved over 100 undercover officers and other staff to work in the city. As some of the criminal gangs have connections in France, French police are coop-

erating in the general investigation. A Netanyahu man, Eliram Na'im, was recently arrested here in connection with the Abutbul murder. Na'im, who does not have a criminal record, denies having had anything to do with it.

Oshaya says five or six Netanyahu shopowners, mainly in Independence Square, have told him that criminals tried to extort money from them, and burned or burglarized their stores after they refused to pay. "Typically, it goes like this: Somebody will come up to them at the shop and say: 'There are people who want to burn down your store, or steal from it, but if you pay such-and-such amount of money, we'll protect you.' The shopkeeper refuses, and that night his store gets burned down, and next day the same guy comes back and says: 'You see? And then they pay,' Oshaya said.

The victims are afraid to talk to the media, even anonymously, for fear of being found out by the gangs, he continued. A few have gone to the police, he said, but most are either afraid to, or believe the police will do little or nothing to protect them. "Some of them told me they went to the police, and the police said: 'We'll look into it, let us know the next time something happens,' but nothing was done," Oshaya said.

One victim, however, has gone to both the police and the media. After Amir Badatz's Jaba restaurant was torched last October, an extortionist came to him and said that from now on, Jaba, along with Badatz's Burger Ranch and gas station, was his. Badatz went to the police, agreed to wear a "wire" for the extortionist's next visit, and the alleged extortionist, Doron

Seroussi, was indicted. About a month ago, the day before Badatz was to testify, a stun grenade was thrown at his Burger Ranch.

Police promised him full-time bodyguards, Badatz said on Channel 1's weekly news magazine recently, but he has found himself at times unprotected. "The police told me to watch my back," he said. "I'm a private individual. How am I supposed to watch my back?"

A Netanyahu police official insisted Badatz had received reasonable protection, given the police's limited resources. The official also said arson had gone down in Netanyahu over the last couple of years — "and I mean substantially, with dozens of fewer arsons than there had been in previous years."

As for extortion, the official said he couldn't gauge how bad it was because most victims didn't tell the police. He urged victims to come forward, saying the police would protect them, although he admitted, "we don't have an elaborate witness-protection program like they do in the U.S."

THE gangs, who are involved in drugs and prostitution as well as gambling, began operating in Netanyahu in the 1970s. Many of the criminals came from France and North Africa, but others came from Eastern Europe, and, more recently, from the former Soviet Union. Dubitsky immigrated from Odessa about a decade ago, but police officials, Pileg and Oshaya all said ethnic rivalry was not an element in the gang war. "All kinds of ethnic groups are involved," said Oshaya.

Dubitsky owned the Good Luck parlor in Independence Square.



### Home Front

## Motherhood in blue and white

By Allison Kaplan Sommer

When I'm visiting the "old country," most American women my age are far less interested in my analysis of Arab-Israeli relations in the aftermath of Oslo or the successes and failures of the Netanyahu government than in "what living in Israel is like for you." What they want to know, essentially, is whether Israel is "better" or "worse" for a working mom than the United States.

Without a detailed knowledge of the exact statistics involved, my answer is "both."

From what I observe from my friends' experiences, women in the US right now are caught between two idealized extremes. The first is the "superwoman," able to bear children without missing a beat in her career, handle 14-hour days and out-of-

young as three months old, and to return to work. And everyone is expected to have their children in a group-care setting by the age of two.

But — and this is a big but — these nurseries, and later school, get out at a ridiculously early hour, leaving mothers who need to work a full day to patch together a bunch of after-school activities or to shell out the money for a sitter on top of the nursery fees. Even so, it is extremely difficult for women with small children to hold jobs where it is impossible to be home at a relatively early hour. So, while working motherhood is accepted and even encouraged here — and thus many jobs women tend to hold allow for a shorter day (at less pay, of course) — working a very

Is Israel "better" or "worse" for a working mom than the United States? My answer is "both."

town travel without breaking into a sweat. This is presumably accomplished with tremendous amounts of household help, on-site corporate child-care, and a state-of-the-art '90s husband willing to slow down his career in order to pick up a hefty share of household and child-raising responsibilities.

The second extreme is the "earth mother," the epitome of an increasingly popular stream called "attachment parenting." This school advocates extended breastfeeding — up until as late as three or four years old. Mothers, presumably, would stay home full-time during these years, because working and exclusively breastfeeding for years is a bit tricky. And also, according to this philosophy, separation anxiety is best avoided by not separating.

The word "attachment" is meant literally. Babies should be worn on the body with a sling or a baby carrier, baby should sleep in bed next to mom in case he wants a midnight snack.

Interestingly enough, here, in a land of extremists of all persuasions, there is a basic cultural consensus on this issue.

Women here are generally expected to work, partly because of our nation's socialist roots, but mostly out of general economic necessity — a woman's income is not something easily sacrificed. (Though why that made it into the culture, while men scrubbing toilets and doing sponja has yet to penetrate, I don't understand.) Hence, it is common for families to put a child in family day care or to hire a nanny when he or she is as

demanding job is both frowned upon and can be an expensive, logistical nightmare.

This conformist middle ground, which reigns supreme here, is a happy medium for many, but it is not perfect for all. There is a certain amount of intolerance for those who do not want to fit the mold.

I have friends who are treated as if they are lazy or nuts when they say they have been home full-time with their children for five or more years. (Those who call them lazy should be punished by taking care of their kids for 24 hours for just one week.) And women who dare to procreate while in the midst of a demanding and successful career that requires getting home after 4 p.m. must bear the implied accusation that they are bad mothers. The way I see it, the task of raising a child is such a monumental challenge that, in any country, all of the "shoulds" should be thrown out the window.

Let's admire both the exhausted working women who are managing a complicated juggling act and honor the equally exhausted women who stay home, not with the condescending job description of "housewife" (are they married to a house?) but with the title suggested by Roseanne Barr: "a domestic goddess." Whether we go out and work to put food in their mouths, or stay home to cook the food, let's get together and agree that when kids are happy and healthy, no matter how this is accomplished, we should all feel pretty good about ourselves.

### EARTHLY CONCERNS

## Recycling helps India regain its forests

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL

India's eroded hillsides are being reforested. This welcome development has come about thanks to a recent innovation that recycles three items which are notoriously hard to dispose of.

By mixing sewage sludge, fly ash (the residue remaining after coal is burned) and composted weeds, agronomists have managed to produce a highly fertile, soil-like mixture. When plowed into eroded soils, it spurs growth much more effectively than chemical fertilizers.

The technique, which was first tried on a small scale in Canada, is now being applied to vast hillsides areas in India where the soil has, over the years, become so eroded that it is almost useless. The project managers say that, when using the new methods, in some areas, the growth rate of forests increased several fold.

The sewage sludge and the composted weeds provide large amounts of nitrates, while the fly ash is rich in minerals such as zinc, cadmium, cobalt and magnesium. By combining them in proper proportions they make up a matrix that provides everything the plants need.

But making sure you use the correct proportions is critical. If fly ash is added too liberally, the heavy metals can build up

in the stems and prevent the plants from absorbing enough water and other nutrients. For this reason the new material is being applied only on crops that are used for fibers, fuel and building materials.

The material has been especially successful for growing trees such as acacia and gum trees and for bamboo and cotton. But even these crops are a boon for India where wood is the principal fuel for millions and where there is a dearth of lumber for building and furniture construction. Indeed it is primarily the demand for fuel wood that has led to the disappearance of the trees and the resultant erosion of the soil.

The researchers hope to be able to apply the new material to forage crops — another item in short supply.

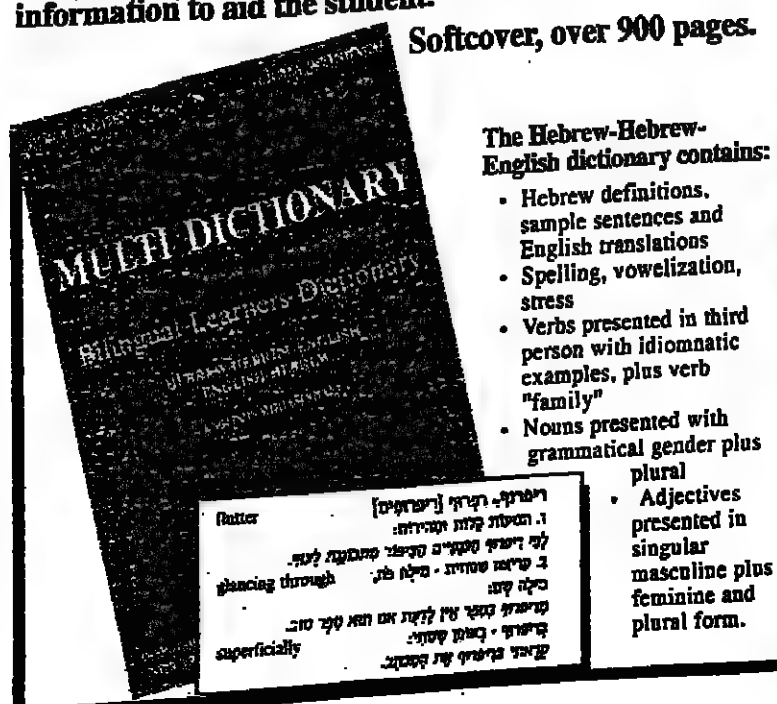
Remarkable progress has already been reported in growing sugar cane in soil that was previously too poor to support any crop. This year will see the start of the first experiments on vineyards and orchards of soft fruits.

In addition to its manifest usefulness as a soil additive this technique also accomplishes very basic recycling. Until now, sewage sludge and fly ash have seemed both useless and expensive to dispose of, while bulky weeds have taken up many disposal facilities.

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## BUSINESS

in brief

### Israel to drill for water in Jordanian Arava

Water Commissioner Meir Ben-Meir and his Jordanian counterpart agreed yesterday that Israel will soon begin drilling for water in the Jordanian section of the Arava. This is in line with the peace agreement.

Technical and licensing details, along with the exact locations, will be agreed upon later this month. *David Harris*

### 'Public must shoulder TA subway's cost'

During a tour of Tel Aviv yesterday, Finance Minister Dan Meridor said the city's light-rail transit system will cost a higher-than-anticipated NIS 7 billion. The public will have to contribute to its funding, he said. *David Harris*

### Merck sets up new local subsidiary

US-based drug giant Merck has established a new subsidiary here for the marketing of its medications and conducting research. Merck, which will continue to use Teva for the production and distribution of its drugs here, has been selling in Israel since 1953 through Assia-Reiss, a Teva subsidiary. The parent company decided to upgrade its dealings with Israel, according to chairman and CEO Raymond Gilmartin, because of the very high level of medicine and government support for direct involvement by international firms here. *Judy Siegel*

### Smith Barney to expand Israel operations

Smith Barney, the second largest financial services firm in the US, said yesterday it intends to expand its Israel operations. Over the last year, the company has increased its local operations from one full-time employee to three, and in the last two years the company has led, managed or co-managed 12 offerings in excess of \$900 million. Last month Smith Barney underwrote two Nasdaq-based offerings for Gilat and Teledata totaling over \$150m. *Jennifer Friedlin*

### Generali Holocaust record at Knesset today

The Knesset Insurance and Return of Jewish Property sub-committee is scheduled to hold a joint meeting on actions to be taken against Assicurazioni Generali, the Italian-based insurance company which is refusing to pay out on policies of Holocaust victims. Several MKs will call for a national boycott of the company, which bought Migdal Insurance from Bank Leumi in a deal signed last July. *David Harris*

### Meridor: No blanket approval for local tax hike

The government did not approve a blanket increase in municipal property tax during its weekly meeting on Friday, according to Finance Minister Dan Meridor. His comment comes after media reports suggested this was a part of the compromise with the Union of Local Authorities to end their three-week strike. Those with low existing tariffs may be allowed to increase them, after checks by the Treasury and Interior Ministry, Meridor added. *David Harris*

# Abeles: Extent of non-shekel loans threatens banks' stability

## 'Credit-card market must open to full competition'

By DAVID HARRIS

The banking sector's non-shekel loans, which have accelerated against the background of a strong shekel, have reached a point at which they pose a threat to the banks' stability, Bank of Israel's Supervisor of Banks Ze'ev Abeles said yesterday.

Speaking at a media conference launching his annual report on the banking sector, Abeles also called for an end to the existing credit card duopoly, said that foreign banks' interest in local activity was on the decline, and pointed out a continued increase in bank expenditures throughout the 1990s.

Concerning foreign-currency denominated credit, Abeles said the phenomenon is becoming increasingly burdensome for the banks, as well as an increasing risk.

Demand for credit rose significantly in 1995 and 1996. In 1994,

credit totalled \$6.5b., while by December last year the comparable figure stood at \$14.7b. and had reached \$16.8b. by March 31 this year.

This trend means the proportion of foreign currency credit in the overall credit basket rose from 14% in 1994 to 24.2% last December and 29% at the end of March.

The effect of this was particularly felt in the construction industry, where foreign currency credit increased from NIS 1.8b. in 1994 to NIS 6.6b. last year (a 91% annual rise). Similar patterns were registered in the food and hotel industry and financial services sector.

Total capital inflow over the last two years reached NIS 40b., of which NIS 23b. was invested short-term.

The latter sum is "sensitive to differences in interest rates and risk in the exchange rate," said Abeles. He then warned of the risk

this presents to bank customers.

The risk factor has been the center of ongoing negotiations between the Bank of Israel and commercial banks during the last two years. As a result, the banks have been instructed to establish teams to check the risks of bank activities given these and other considerations, including greater liberalization in capital markets.

There was a marked increase in activity in the banking sector during 1996, which continued into the first quarter this year. This was particularly noticeable in the non-index shekel arena and in foreign-currency denominated business.

This additional activity was the main reason the five major banks registered post-tax profits totalling some NIS 2 billion last year, according to Abeles.

With many of the trends in the banking sector continuing this year, Abeles warned it is unlikely they will carry on throughout 1997.

While not speaking of high salaries and bonuses to senior staff, Abeles was critical of the overall expenditure of banks, particularly in pay and benefits to workers. Expenditure on staff has increased 25% since 1990, a figure which Abeles said he hopes will be reduced after privatization. Indeed, he added, this will become crucial if a private bank wishes to remain competitive.

However, he refused to offer a view on whether the number of branches will be reduced after privatization. That, he said, is a matter for the banks' owners to decide.

Concerning the credit-card market, Abeles called for full competition in an industry which for years has been gripped by two dominant players.

He criticized the existing duopoly and said while there is talk of a third player, Alpha, entering the market, greater competition is needed. "All banks should be able

to sell all cards currently on the market."

Antitrust Authority director general David Tadmor declined to comment on Abeles' recommendation, but pointed out that he is currently investigating the state of the credit card industry and expects to issue a report within a month.

The introduction of electronic wallets must be progressed, a suggestion which has the full backing of Bank of Israel Governor Jacob Frenkel. The wallets should not be exclusive to banks but also be operated by other organizations. Some bodies have already expressed interest in the wallets, he said.

While several foreign banks have established a presence here in recent years, Abeles said the number of approaches has declined. This he said was because of the geo-political situation and changes in the Israeli economy.



### Japanese bank scandal causes reshuffle

Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank vice president Ichiro Fujita (right) announces the reshuffle of top executives, including his succeeding to the post of outgoing president Kazuhiko Kondo (second to right) at the bank's headquarters in Tokyo last month. A major scandal involving links between Japanese racketeers and financial institutions claimed a new victim over the weekend when the appointment of the new president promoted to clean up the mess was rescinded. Fujita joined a growing list of top Japanese executives who have seen their careers derailed over the past three months by the scandal. Also pictured above are vice president Yoshiharu Mani, who was appointed as new chairman (left) and outgoing chairman Tadashi Okuda. (Reuters)

## Merrill Lynch buys 19.2% stake in Agis

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Pharmaceutical manufacturer Agis Ltd. has signed an agreement to sell US investment house Merrill Lynch a 19.2 percent share of the company for NIS 200 million in cash, chairman of the board Moshe Arkin said yesterday.

In the largest-ever foreign acquisition of a company listed on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, Merrill Lynch bought 5.5 million shares at NIS 36 per share from majority shareholders Moshe Arkin and his sister Daniela Yanai on Friday. Arkin and Yanai received NIS 181m. in cash and will hold 45% of the company after the transaction.

Arkin said he and Yanai agreed in 1992 to sell the shares as soon as they were eligible to benefit from Israeli tax laws.

"When we issued the company five years ago, we knew that in five years time we could sell the stock with a tax exemption," Arkin said. "The idea was to take advantage of the law as long as it existed."

On May 29, Arkin and Yanai became eligible for the tax exemption.

Merrill Lynch, which bought the shares on behalf of its institutional investors, received NIS 194m. in transaction fees. The investment bank, one of the largest in the US, is expected to manage Agis's public flotation on the Nasdaq exchange in early 1998.

A Merrill Lynch spokesman could not be reached for comment.

In trading yesterday on the TASE, Agis fell 0.3%. Agis shares have risen 66% since the beginning of 1995, in part because of foreign interest in the company.

Over the years, Agis' performance has steadily improved. The company's net profits went up to NIS 47.04m. last year from NIS 38.35 in 1995. Revenue for the year rose to NIS 684.06m. from NIS 680.44m.

The company's first quarter revenues jumped 15% to NIS 212m, while net profit increased 33% to NIS 16.5m.

Founded in 1961, Agis consists of several subsidiaries - including, Agis Industries, Israel Fine Chemicals and Careline, a cosmetics and toiletries enterprise.

## Russia's Gazprom to bid for gas deal

By DAVID HARRIS

A team of experts from Russian energy giant Gazprom, the world's largest natural gas supplier, will visit here next month to offer a price for the supply of gas until 2000, with a view to a longer-term relationship, according to National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon.

Speaking at a media conference in Russia, Sharon said the experts will arrive in Israel on July 7, when they will begin intensive work on all aspects of the technical and economic sides of supplying gas.

Following talks with senior

company and Russian government officials, Sharon said he is giving serious consideration to the laying of a marine pipeline from Russia to Israel.

It is still unclear whether this would be the sole supply of gas, replacing the planned line from Egypt, or whether this would become an additional source.

Talks are also ongoing with a variety of other countries - including Qatar, Turkey, Greece and Turkmenistan over the supply of gas. Gazprom and Sharon agreed in principle that the company could supply gas until 2000. Sharon said the gas is the best in the world and he is confident of obtaining a

cheap price. Discussions also centered on the long-term supply and the guarantee of gas no matter what occurs on the regional geopolitical front.

Sharon also informed Gazprom of various infrastructure projects in Israel he believes the company can participate in, including ammonia production in the Dead Sea.

Gazprom succeeded the state-owned gas company for Russia and has a monopoly on gas supply throughout the former Soviet Union. The company also supplies 21 percent of all western European gas consumption. Gazprom is still 40% state-controlled.

It is unclear what implication

these talks will have on the supply of gas from Egypt.

The three year old discussions with Egypt had by the start of this year largely petered out to the extent that Italian-based ENI (one of the companies designated to work with Egypt to deliver Israel's gas supply) president Guglielmo Moscato, attacked the Israeli government for delaying an agreement.

Originally, the plans called for Israel to import an annual 2.5 billion cubic meters of gas by the year 2000 via a pipeline across the Sinai Desert. Now, experts say a deadline of 2002 looks more realistic.

## Gov't grants Carmel Olefines \$16m. in aid

By JENNIFER FRIEDLIN

Carmel Olefines Ltd., the second largest producer of raw materials for the plastics industry, has received a \$16 million investment aid package. The Industry and Trade Ministry's Investment Center said yesterday.

The aid given to Carmel Olefines consists of tax exemptions and is granted to help exporters increase their operations, a spokesman for the center said. Based in Haifa, the company is not entitled to investment aid grants that are available to enterprises located in development areas.

Representatives for the company refused to comment on the grant or its designated uses.

Carmel Olefines, a privately held company, manufactures polyethylene, polypropylene and polystyrene. The company exports to more than 20 countries in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Its 1995 sales turnover totalled \$310m., and annual exports amounted to \$110m.

The plastics industry grew 10% last year to \$2.5b. The sector is expected to grow by 15% - 20% this year, as plastic products continue to replace other materials formerly used in packaging, wrapping and agriculture.

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## ISRAELI MONEY MARKETS

Patash (foreign currency deposit rates) (11.9.96)				
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS	
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	4.750	5.000	5.375	
Pound sterling (£100,000)	3.875	4.000	4.250	
German mark (DM 200,000)	1.825	1.925	2.125	
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.625	0.750	1.000	
Yen (10 million yen)				
(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)				
Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (6.6.97)				
CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES		Rep. Rates**
Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	
Currency basket	3.9825	3.7847	—	3.7020
U.S. dollar	3.3847	3.4393	3.32	3.4150
German mark	1.9482	1.9787	1.91	1.9710
Pound sterling	5.5035	5.5820	5.40	5.5679
French franc	0.5778	0.5872	0.56	0.5814
Japanese yen (100)	2.9194	2.9655	2.86	2.9480
Dutch florin	1.7327	1.7607	1.70	1.7520
Swiss franc	2.3179	2.3659	2.27	2.3482
Swedish krona	0.4392	0.4423	0.42	0.4305
Norwegian krona	0.4710	0.4786	0.46	0.4785
Danish krone	0.5118	0.5201	0.50	0.5177
Finland mark	0.5480	0.5595	0.53	0.5505
Canadian dollar	2.4540	2.4838	2.41	2.4780
Australian dollar	2.5778	2.6192	2.53	2.5890
S. African rand	0.7581	0.7673	0.74	0.7505
Belgian franc (10)	0.9483	0.9506	0.93	0.9405
Austrian schilling (10)	2.7700	2.8127	2.72	2.786
Italian lira (1000)	0.7581	0.7673	0.74	0.7505
Jordanian dinar	4.7739	4.9008	4.65	4.8005
Egyptian pound	0.9800	1.0500	0.96	1.0757
ECU	3.8042	3.8850	—	3.8444
Irish punt	5.0059	5.0867	4.92	5.0522
Spanish peseta (100)	2.2089	2.2462	2.18	2.2345
*These rates vary according to bank. **Bank of Israel				
SOURCE: BANK LEUMI				







# Kuerten lowest-ranked French Open champ

PARIS (AP) — Gustavo Kuerten, a Brazilian who had never won a tournament before, beat Sergi Bruguera of Spain in straight sets yesterday to become the lowest-ranked French Open champion and the first Brazilian man to win a Grand Slam.

Kuerten used a devastating forehand to beat the former two-time champion 6-3, 6-4, 6-2. He dedicated the victory to his late father, who died when Kuerten was eight.

"He was the person I really loved, and I miss him a lot."

"This trophy and this tournament go to him and I am sure he is really happy right now," Kuerten told the Center Court crowd at Roland Garros.

With a huge grin, the 20-year-old Brazilian lifted the trophy and kissed it after receiving it from six-time champion Bjorn Borg.

Kuerten came into the tournament ranked No. 66. He will now move into the top 20 after an amazing run that saw him beat three ex-champions.

Kuerten was only the sixth unseeded player in the Open era to make it to the men's final and only the third to win the title, after Marcel Bernard in 1946 and Mats Wilander in 1982.

Bruguera won here in 1993 and 1994 and was looking for his third French Open title.

But it was Kuerten who dictated play from the beginning.

Kuerten broke in the first set for 3-2 with a crisp forehand volley. Then he broke again in the final game of the set, with a big cross-court forehand to the corner.

Playing with remarkable confidence, Kuerten often hit the lines with his groundstrokes. He also served far better than his opponent.

In the second set, with occasional gusts of wind playing havoc with both players' serve, Kuerten broke again for 3-1, but the Spaniard broke back for

3-2. Until that break, Kuerten had allowed only four points on his serve.

Bruguera saved three break points to hold at 3-3. But at 4-4, Kuerten saved three break points on his own serve to go up 5-4.

Then, just as in the first set, he broke Bruguera in the final game — this time with a forehand to the corner that the Spaniard could barely touch.

Kuerten said that when he was almost broken at 4-4, it was "the worst moment for me in the match."

"This game I needed to get the match. I really ran for every ball. I broke him in the next game and the third set was a bit easier," he said.

In the third set, Kuerten didn't serve with as much authority. He had to save two break points in each of his first two service games.

His final breakthrough came in the sixth game of the final set. A double fault by Bruguera made it deuce. A drop shot gave Kuerten a break point, but then he hit a forehand long.

Another drop shot gave him one more break point, and when Bruguera sent a forehand long, Kuerten had the vital break.

The match ended two games later after one hour and 50 minutes of play, when Bruguera chipped a backhand to the net.

It was the quickest men's final since 1980, when Borg beat Vitas Gerulaitis in one hour, 46 minutes.

"He hit very hard and he deserved to win," Bruguera said.

Kuerten already had beaten the last two French Open champions, Thomas Muster and Yevgeny Kafelnikov, to reach the final. Now, the 1993 and 1994 champion — he has added Bruguera — to the list.

He had never gone past the quarterfinals in a tournament before, and had a losing record this year coming into the French Open.



Gustavo Kuerten (Reuters)

# Red Wings sweep Flyers

DETROIT (AP) — The 42-year Stanley Cup drought is over for the Detroit Red Wings.

The Red Wings ended the NHL's longest current Cup wait and won their eighth title overall, completing a sweep of the favored Philadelphia Flyers with a 2-1 win Saturday night.

The NHL's third straight sweep in the finals also made Sparty, Bowman the first coach to win championships with three different teams. He won five titles with Montreal and one with Pittsburgh.

This might be Bowman's last — his contract runs out after this season — and the 63-year-old coach has refused to discuss his future.

If this was his final game, it was a brilliant ending. The Red Wings were awesome in the finals as Mike Vernon limited the Flyers to six goals and Detroit never let either Eric Lindros or Philadelphia's vaunted forechecking game be a factor.

Lindros didn't get his first goal

of the series until 14.8 seconds remained Saturday night.

But that was not enough, and as the final seconds ticked off, Joe Louis Arena erupted, with fireworks exploding and confetti flying from the rafters.

The Flyers held the lead for just two minutes in the entire series as the Red Wings' left wing lock worked with almost perfect efficiency.

So did the Wings' Russian Five, who added the NHL crown to the many international titles the former Soviets already owned.

For the final moments, the Cup-starved fans cheered wildly, waving white pompoms, even throwing an octopus on the ice — a Detroit playoff tradition — with 27 seconds to go.

The celebrations seemed inevitable after the Red Wings took the first two games in Philadelphia. The Flyers never recovered in putting forth an effort coach Terry Murray aptly called

"choking" on Friday.

The Flyers responded with probably their best game of the series. But the Red Wings again made all the key plays, with Nicklas Lidstrom scoring with 33 seconds left in the first period and Darren McCarty adding a breakaway goal with 6:58 left in the second.

Vernon, who played in just 32 of the Red Wings' first 44 games this year, stopped 26 shots in raising his record to 16-4 in the playoffs, three more wins than he had in the regular season. It was the second time he backstopped a team to the Stanley Cup. Vernon led Calgary to the title in 1989.

In their heyday, led by Hall of Famers Gordie Howe, Ted Lindsay and Alex Delvecchio, the Red Wings dominated the NHL.

They won four Cups in six years. Then nothing until Saturday.

Vernon was named the Conn Smythe Trophy winner as the players' most valuable player.

hander Mark Butcher taking 29 runs in the first three overs.

Michael Kasprovicz trapped Butcher leg before wicket for 14 runs, but Atherton and Stewart ensured the win was achieved without any further hiccups.

# England win 1st Ashes Test

BIRMINGHAM (AP) — An emotionally-charged England raced to an emphatic nine-wicket victory in the First Test against Australia at Edgbaston yesterday to take a 1-0 lead for the first time in five Ashes series.

Set to make 118 runs to win after dismissing Australia for 477 in its second innings, England skipper Michael Atherton led the victory charge with an unbeaten 57.

Atherton and Alec Stewart (40 not out) romped home to victory in 21.3 overs with a day to spare with an undefeated 90-run second-wicket stand.

Stewart drove leg spinner Shane Warne for his seventh four to take England to 119 for one and seal the historic victory.

Atherton, who reached 5,000 Test runs in 68 matches, gave the run chase a kick start with left

hander Mark Butcher taking 29 runs in the first three overs.

Michael Kasprovicz trapped Butcher leg before wicket for 14 runs, but Atherton and Stewart ensured the win was achieved without any further hiccups.

Australia, 1st Innings 118  
England, 1st Innings 478 for nine dec.  
Australia, 2nd Innings overnight 256 for one.  
Matthew Elliott b Croft 86  
Mark Taylor c and b Croft 129  
Greg Blewett c Boucher b Croft 125  
Steve Waugh lbw b Gough 33  
Michael Bevan c Atherton b Gough 24  
Mark Waugh c Stewart b Gough 30  
Ian Healy c Atherton b Ealham 1  
Shane Warne c and b Ealham 32  
M Kasprovicz c Boucher b Ealham 0  
Jason Gillespie run out 0  
Glenn McGrath not out 37  
Extras (1lb, 12lb, 5lb, 2w) 37  
TOTAL 477 all out  
Fall of wickets: 133, 327, 354, 393, 399.

431, 465, 465, 477, 477.  
Bowling: Darren Gough 36-7-123-3 (3nb), Devon Malcolm 21-6-52-0, Robert Croft 43-10-125-3 (2w), Andrew Caddick 30-6-87-0 (3nb), Mark Ealham 15-4-3-60-3.  
Batting time: 587 minutes. Overs: 144.4.  
England, 2nd Innings  
Mark Butcher lbw b Kasprovicz 14  
Michael Atherton not out 57  
Alec Stewart not out 40  
Extras (4b, 4lb) 8  
TOTAL 119 runs for one wicket  
Fall of wicket: 28  
Bowling: Glenn McGrath 7-1-42-0, Michael Kasprovicz 7-0-42-1, Shane Warne 7-3-0-27-0.  
Batting time: 38 minutes. Overs: 21.3  
England won by nine wickets.

# Touch Gold wins Belmont Stakes

NEW YORK (AP) — Touch Gold rallied on the outside down the stretch, took the lead with about 50 meters to go and won the Belmont Stakes on Saturday to deny Silver Charm the American thoroughbred Triple Crown.

The defeat made Silver Charm the 13th winner of the Kentucky Derby and Preakness to fail to get the Triple Crown in the Belmont. He was bidding to become the 12th Triple Crown winner and the

first since Affirmed in 1978.

"Touch Gold led for most of the first half of the 2.4-kilometer (1.5-mile) race, but fell off the pace while Silver Charm and Free House battled in front."

Silver Charm moved ahead of Free House along the rail with about 100 meters remaining, but saw Touch Gold finish fast and win the final leg of the American Triple Crown series by about a half length.

## SCOREBOARD

TENNIS — Anna Smashnova lost the final of the \$50,000 Challenger Tournament in Tashkent yesterday to Angelica Gavaldon 6-4, 6-2.

TRACK — Donovan Bailey lost a soggy 100-meter run to Nigeria's Davidson Ezizwa yesterday at the IAAF Zsamesky Memorial Grand Prix meet in Moscow, moments after a torrential thunderstorm abated.

MAJOR LEAGUE BASEBALL — Saturday's AL results: Kansas City 10, Texas 4; Chicago 1, Baltimore 0 (1); NY 2, Milwaukee 0; Toronto 3, Oakland 1; Cleveland 9, Boston 5; Detroit 3, Seattle 1; Minnesota 6, Anaheim 1.

Saturday's NL results: Cincinnati 10, NY 5; Atlanta 5, San Francisco 2; Florida 7, Colorado 5 (1st); Florida at Colorado, 2nd game, ppd.; rain; Pittsburgh 9, Philadelphia 2; Montreal 5, Chicago 0; Los Angeles 5, St. Louis 2; San Diego 5, Houston 4 (10).

# World Cup hopes fade

Israel go down in Moscow mire, 2-0, fall to second place

By DEREK FATTAL

Israel's dream of competing in next year's World Cup Finals in France effectively vanished in the mire of Dynamo's Moscow stadium last night following a comprehensive 2-0 defeat by Russia.

The Israelis never came close to overhauling the side currently ranked 9th in FIFA's standings, and as so often has been the case in decisive matches, the national squad's defense contributed to its own demise at the very moment it needed to stand its ground.

Two excellent first-half goals in front of a spirited 27,000 crowd, from Vladislav Radimov in the eighth minute, and the second from central defender Alexei Kosolapov exactly half an hour later were enough to enable the Russians to leapfrog over Israel into first place, with a one-point lead, and a game in hand over the former-Group 5 leaders.

In other Group 5 action last night, host Bulgaria were 4-0 winners over winless Luxembourg to trail Israel in the standings by only one point. Bulgaria have two games in hand over Israel.

The Russians now face Bulgaria home and away in their last two group matches in the battle over first place and the qualifying ticket that goes with it.

A victory in Israel's final qualifying match on August 20th away to the Bulgarians in Sofia offers an extremely slim hope of securing second position and the right to a playoff for one of four extra European qualifying places depending on what transpires in the games between Bulgaria and Russia that will be played after Israel completes its fixture list.

A heavy rainstorm an hour before the kickoff yesterday looked to be an ill omen for what lay ahead as the already appalling Moscow pitch was turned into a mud bath. As the heavens opened, Israel coach Shlomo Scharf was probably regretting his decision to play a relatively attacking lineup given the worsening state of the field.

The Austrian referee decided to proceed with the game which was delayed by 15 minutes to allow the groundsmen to remark the playing surface.

Right from the start, it was clear that Russian coach Boris Ignatyev had planned his strategy to perfection. Israel's defensive frailties were attacked with absolute precision and with the jocular exposed, the Russians went in for the kill.

The Israelis were invited to come forward only for the Russians to hit back with lightning counter-thrusts that left the visitors squirming and shirking the tackle in the vacuum between midfield and the back line.

In the eighth minute, the snappy Sergei Grishin played a perfect pass straight into the path of the unmarked Radimov. With a level of skill that belied his position as defender, Radimov took the ball and shimmied past Alon Hazan and with ice cool nerves safely tucked it under Rafi Cohen to give Russia the lead.

On the quarter hour, Kosolapov rehearsed the move that was to provide the second goal only to see his header fall wide. When the Israel's central defenders again



UPENDED — Israel's Eli Ohana (above) tackles Russia's Vladislav Radimov in yesterday's Group 5 World Cup qualifier. Russia won 2-0. (Reuters)

left an open path for him in the 38th minute, there was no possible way for Cohen to stop the thunderous diving header that met the crowd pressed over from the left flank by Igor Yanovsky.

By way of reply, Israel mustered a series of well-taken free kicks, first by Haim Revivo, and then by his second-half replacement Itzik Zohar. Apart from these set pieces, only a couple of fine crosses from the left by David Amsalem to Revivo could have raised the heart rate of Sergei Ovchinnikov in the Russian goal.

Avi Nimni and Eyal Berkovic lacked both power and ingenuity in midfield, and indeed there was something quite pathetic in the way Nimni in particular tipped around playing short passes more suited to green veld instead of

slime. After the break, Ronnie Rosenthal made way for Alon Harazi in an effort to shore up the defense.

Content with their two-goal lead, the Russians let the Israelis enjoy most of the possession but with Ohana and then his replacement Alon Mizrahi leading the line and hardly ever receiving the ball, there was little to fear in the way of assaults on goal.

Dmitry Alenichev, then Zohar had shots that impacted the woodwork but not the scoreline later in the game for their respective sides. The Russians ended the game as they started, in the ascendancy as the clock and hope ran out on Israel.

Russia — Sergei Ovchinnikov,

Yuri Nikiforov, Akhrik Tsveiba, Viktor Onopko, Alexei Kosolapov, 9-Sergei Grishin (90 Valery Yesepo), Dmitry Alenichev, Vladislav Radimov, Igor Yanovsky, Vladimir Beschasnykh (61 Andrei Tikhonov), Dmitry Cheryshev (82 Yuri Kovtun).

Israel — Rafi Cohen, Felix Halfon, Arik Bannad, Amir Shelah, David Amsalem, Avi Nimni, Haim Revivo (58 Itzik Zohar), Eyal Berkovic, Ronnie Rosenthal (46 Alon Harazi), Eli Ohana (73 Alon Mizrahi).

Team	P	W	D	GF	GA	Pts
Russia	6	4	2	0	15	2
Israel	7	4	1	2	9	6
Bulgaria	5	4	0	1	14	5
Cyprus	8	1	1	4	5	14
Luxembourg	8	0	0	8	1	17

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# Jordan Valley residents blame PWD for highway neglect

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

Jordan Valley residents charged yesterday that the Public Works Department is responsible for the state of neglect on Route 90. Jordan Valley Settlements Committee chairman David Elhayani claimed the department has cut two-thirds of the budget allocated by Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon to improve the highway.

A PWD spokesman denied the charges, saying it had asked the Ministry of Infrastructure for NIS 150 million to carry out the necessary repairs on the entire highway, NIS 15m. of which had already been spent on improvements, mainly in parts known to be particularly dangerous.

Repairs, he said, had been carried out on the road between Na'ama and Argaman and north of the Mehola junction. The repairs on the stretch of road north of Argaman where the three members of the Pell family and two friends travelling with them lost their lives last Thursday will be carried out soon, the spokesman said.

Sharon, currently in Russia, said on an Army Radio interview yesterday that so far this year NIS15m. to NIS 20m. had been spent on repairing the highway and another NIS 30m. would be allocated next year. Sharon said that on his return in two days' time he would investigate whether his orders had indeed been carried out. "The highway is not only of extreme strategic importance but also serves as a main link between Jerusalem and the northern part of the country," he said.

Jordan Valley Regional Council spokeswoman Tami Atiya said residents demand intensive work be carried out on the highway and not just cosmetic changes. "The road is a main



Members of Metuna, the Organization for Road Safety, reinforced by members of People in Red, those who have lost a family member in a traffic accident, demonstrate outside the Transport Ministry in Jerusalem yesterday.

artery," she said. "Many people travel on it, especially during holidays, and every accident that occurs we take personally."

Judy Siegel adds: Road accidents are responsible for a financial loss of NIS 1 billion a year, Health Minister Yehoshua Matza said on a tour of the Beit Loewinstein rehabilitation hospital in Ra'anana yesterday. Commenting on the tragedy that befell the Pell family last

Thursday, Matza said that "this accident reminds us again of the great loss due to accidents. Facing such horrible tragedies, even a number like NIS 1 billion seems valueless, but I ask myself how many lives we could save with such an amount of money if we didn't have to spend it in the aftermath of such senseless accidents." The NIS 1 billion figure, he said, is an estimate that does not include the loss of work days due to accidents.

## Route 90's fatal toll

According to Judea and Samaria Police spokesman Opher Sivan, the stretch of Route 90 between Naharayim and Mehola is deemed to be the most problematic. Sivan said that on this stretch alone there were 45 road accidents in 1996 and 1997. Nine of the accidents - including the one that took the lives of the Pell family and their two friends - were fatal, killing 17 people. During this period, 20 people were seriously injured and 155 lightly injured on that stretch.

Margot Dudkevitch

## Elbit unveils new unmanned aerial vehicle

By STEVE RODAN

Elbit Systems Ltd. is unveiling an advanced short-range unmanned aerial vehicle which it says has garnered interest in Israel and other nations, executives said yesterday.

The UAV is called the Hermes-450S, developed and manufactured by Elbit's subsidiary Silver Arrow, based in Herzliya. The UAV is meant to provide tactical intelligence for ground forces and to direct artillery fire.

The Hermes, a single-engine drone, can stay in the air for 20 hours at an altitude of 20,000 feet.

Except for the engine, it contains backups of all of its vital systems.

Yeshayahu Shapira, Silver Arrow's managing director, said there are already several orders for the Hermes, but he would not identify them.

Executives said the IDF is likely to order it as part of its program to upgrade its UAV capability.

Elbit has won a contract from the IDF to develop advanced avionics for the F-15 upgrade, a contract valued at \$12.5 million. The contract will be executed via Elbit's subsidiary EFW, based in Fort Worth, Texas.

This month, Elbit will supply the first prototypes of the system to the IAF and will install the avionics on the F-15s by November.

Elbit executives said they will highlight their company's ability to upgrade combat jets and helicopters during next week's Paris Air Show.

Elbit president Joseph Ackerman said two-thirds of his company's business stems from upgrades.

At the air show, Elbit will display the MiG-21 it upgraded for the Romanian air force. Elbit and Romania signed an agreement to market MiG upgrades to third countries.

## Survey: Religious give more to charity than secular

By JUDY SIEGEL

Three out of every four Israeli adults donate to charity, but modern Orthodox and haredi Jews contribute four to seven times as much per capita as secular residents. The average Israeli donates NIS 250 a year.

These statistics were collected in a first-of-its-kind survey conducted at Ben-Gurion University. Prof. Binyamin Gidron, of its new Center for Research into Non-Profit, Philanthropic, and Voluntary Organizations found that the religious sector donates

almost exclusively to religious causes.

In addition, 44 percent of haredim do volunteer work, compared to only 15 percent of the secular population. One out of five Israelis does volunteer work for an average of 16 hours a month. This comes out to 60 million hours, worth NIS 725 million a year.

The poll of a representative sample of 500 Israeli adults was carried out with help from Modi'in Ezrahi, said Gidron, who noted a trend of reduced philanthropy from foreign sources.

## Artificial heart patient in stable condition

By JUDY SIEGEL

In another year, an artificial plastic and titanium heart containing rechargeable batteries will serve as a possible replacement for transplants of human hearts. So says Dr. Jacob Lavee, who on Shabbat implanted Israel's first-ever artificial heart in a patient who will eventually require a heart transplant.

Yishai Einbinder was yesterday conscious and in critical, but stable condition in Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer. Einbinder is expected to remain at Sheba for two to three weeks.

Einbinder had been waiting for a suitable heart transplant for months, but none was available. His doctors decided to transplant the \$80,000 artificial heart, which was manufactured by the TCI company in Boston.

Lavee, head of the heart transplantation unit, who performed the surgery along with Prof. Aram Smolinsky, Dr. Gabriel Amir, Dr. Violeta Glauber, and Dr. Eran Segal, learned how to carry out the procedure in the US. Previously, booster pumps have been implanted in Israel for only until a diseased heart gained strength or a transplant organ became available.

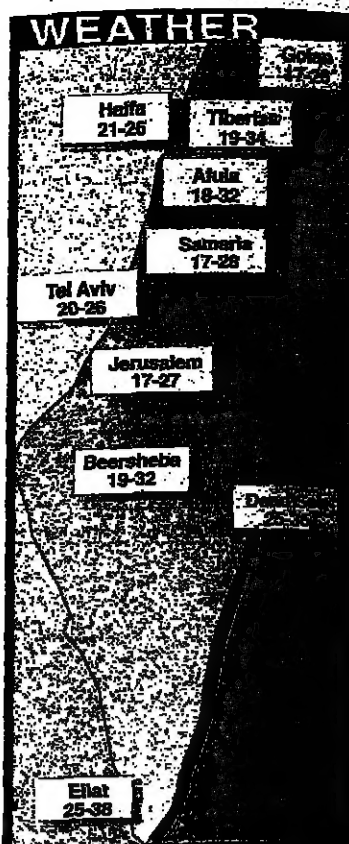
The TCI heart - the only one so far approved by the US Food and Drug Administration - is powered by a battery worn outside the body which must be replaced twice a day.

Lavee said there are some 300 people walking around with such hearts; a total of 1,000 such pumps have been implanted at only 100 medical centers abroad. The mortality rate after such implants is a very low five percent; the remainder have already traded their artificial pumps in for transplant organs.

"These devices have already proved themselves; one in Sweden and another in the US were implanted two and a half years ago, and the patients are still going strong. We don't know how long they can last, but they could perform indefinitely; some recipients have even taken their names off the transplant waiting list," he said.

The improved version now under completion in Boston has the battery attached directly to the artificial heart; to power it, the patient will wear a charging belt that introduces electricity subcutaneously, Lavee explained.

A conventional heart transplant, including the waiting time and drugs, costs \$250,000; an artificial heart will be cheaper, the organ isn't rejected by the body, and the patient won't have to take expensive (and toxic) anti-rejection drugs. But an artificial heart can be offered only to younger patients who would die at any moment without it, Lavee said.



### AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Low	High	Forecast
Amsterdam	18	21	Cloudy
Berlin	15	18	Clear
Buenos Aires	12	15	Clear
Chicago	14	17	Clear
Copenhagen	10	13	Clear
Frankfurt	16	19	Cloudy
Geneva	18	21	Clear
Helsinki	10	13	Clear
Hong Kong	26	29	Cloudy
Jakarta	24	27	Cloudy
London	16	19	Cloudy
Los Angeles	18	21	Cloudy
Madrid	16	19	Cloudy
Moscow	11	14	Clear
Montreal	12	15	Cloudy
New York	18	21	Cloudy
Paris	16	19	Cloudy
Rome	18	21	Clear
Stockholm	10	13	Clear
Sydney	14	17	Clear
Toronto	12	15	Clear
Vancouver	10	13	Clear
Zurich	16	19	Cloudy

### Winning cards

The winning cards in yesterday's daily Mifal Hapais Chance drawings were: the ace of spades, jack of hearts, jack of diamonds and 7 of clubs; and the jack of spades, jack of hearts, 9 of diamonds and jack of clubs.

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Matav - Haifa Town Area 5.00 p.m.  
Netanya Area 7.30 p.m.  
Idan - Central & Southern Area 6.00 p.m. & 9.30 p.m.  
Arutzel  
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